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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1909.

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Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society

FOR

1909.

Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.

VOL. XXXII.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOL. XXXII.

	Page
Proceedings at the Annual Spring Meeting at Standish, Moreton Valence, Frampton and Leonard Stanley	1
Proceedings at the Annual Summer Meeting at Evesham	22
An Address delivered at Evesham by the President of the Society	57
The Campaign of Evesham, June—August, 1265	64
The Almshouses of Bristol	84
The Northern Boundary of Gloucestershire	109
Church Furniture and Decoration of the Renaissance Period in Bristol	140
Some Ancient Deeds relating to Walton, Cardiff	165
Notices of Publications	177, 334
In Memoriam—Rev. G. Butterworth	189
On a Hoard of Half-Crowns of Charles I deposited early in 1645	193
The Chronological Sequence of the Bristol Parish Churches	202
Monumental Effigies	219
St. Peter's Church, Bristol	260
Gloucestershire Fonts	301
Bristol Archæological Notes for 1909	313

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
Tympanum of North Porch, Morton Valence	12
Chancel Arch and Norman Window, Morton Valence	13
Leonard Stanley Priory, Church and Manor House, 1786	16
Leonard Stanley Priory Chapel, and Kitchen, 1787	17
Abbot Reginald's Gateway, Evesham	23
East End of St. Lawrence's Church, Evesham	34
Abbot Lichfield's Chapel, St. Lawrence's Church	35
William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 1714	42
Monuments at Cropthorn, Elmley Castle and Pershore	43
Abbey Church, Pershore	45
Chapel-Barn, Netherton	49
Localities of the Battle of Evesham	80, 81
Chapel of the Three Kings of Cologne	99
Reredos, St. Peter's Church, Bristol	141
Organ Gallery, St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol	151
Ironwork, St. Mary Redcliff Church, Bristol	155
Ironwork, Temple Church, Bristol	157
Sword Rest, St. Nicholas Church, Bristol	158
Charter of Robert de Cardif, 1182–1202	166
Charter of William de Cardif, before 1248	168
Manumission of William Smithsend, 1528	169

Page

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BRISTOL:

GROUND PLAN 260

WEATHERED BUTTRESSES INSIDE ENTRANCE TO NORTH AISLE 266

CORBEL ABOVE THE NICHE ON NORTH-EAST PIER OF TOWER 268

SECOND CORBEL, NORTH SIDE OF NAVE . . . 268

INTERSECTION OF ARCHES, CAPITALS SOUTH OF AISLE . 269

NORTH AISLE BASE OF PILLAR 272

NORTH AISLE ORIGINAL BASE 272

FIRST CORBEL, NORTH SIDE OF NAVE . . . 273

THIRD CORBEL, NORTH SIDE OF NAVE . . . 273

FOURTH CORBEL, NORTH SIDE OF NAVE . . . 273

NEWTON MONUMENT, SOUTH AISLE 292

ALDWORTH MONUMENT, SOUTH AISLE . . . 295

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS:

FONT, DEERHURST 303

FONT, ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, THE LEA . . . 308

FONT, STAUNTON 310

STONE, ELMSTONE 310

FRAGMENT OF BLACK POTTERY VESSEL 316

FRAGMENT OF VASE OR BOWL 316

MEDIÆVAL POTTERY 319

MEDIÆVAL STONE MORTAR 319

EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LEAD RAIN-WATER HEAD . 320

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CARVED STONE CHIMNEY-PIECES . 326

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Spring Meeting, At Standish, Moreton Valence, Frampton and Leonard Stanley.

Tuesday, June 8th, 1909.

The spring meeting was a great success, the weather being ideal for an outing of this kind, while the arrangements were excellently carried out. In making Gloucester Vale the centre of the excursion a good choice was made, for many of the members had never visited Standish, Moreton Valence, Frampton, and Leonard Stanley, and they had the pleasure of seeing some delightful old churches under the best conditions. The President, the Rev. Canon W. Bazeley, proved, as usual, a perfect guide, giving supplementary remarks on the places visited, and contributing valuable and interesting notes to the programme. There were over eighty members present. Mr. Michael G. Lloyd-Baker, the Hon. General Secretary, worked hard, and he is to be complimented on the pleasant meeting he arranged, and the smooth way in which everything went off. General regret was expressed that Mr. J. E. Pritchard, the Hon. Secretary for Bristol, was prevented from attending through indisposition.

The members assembled at Stonehouse, where well-equipped brakes were in readiness to take them to Standish. The drive through the country roads was pleasant in the

extreme, the air being fragrant with the scent from the hawthorn blooms, the fields looking their best after the recent rains, and the laburnum trees gay in their golden trappings. Standish is a place with an interesting history ecclesiastically.

In 821 Beornulf, King of the Mercians, gave to the Secular Canons of St. Peter's Monastery, Gloucester, fifteen hides of land under Ezimbury; probably Haresfield Beacon, famous for its British and Roman camps.

In the time of Cnut Benedictine monks were substituted for the canons, and the ancient possessions of the abbey passed to its new occupants. During the reign of Edward the Confessor, Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, 1044–60, began to rebuild the Church of St. Peter in the Norman style of architecture; for Norman builders came to England at Edward's bidding many years before the Battle of Hastings. We believe that in the crypt of Gloucester Cathedral we have some of this early work still remaining. Aldred, in 1060, was translated to York, and, in order to recoup himself for the money he had privately expended on St. Peter's, he seized as security for his loan the Abbey Manors of Standish, Oddington and Northleach. On his death they were illegally retained by Archbishop Thomas as though they were part of the endowments of his See. In 1087, the Survey tells us, he still held them, though the abbot held two hides in Standish, Durand the Sheriff three, and Earl Hugh one. The remainder of the thirteen hides would probably never have been recovered had not Serlo, the first Norman Abbot of Gloucester, been all powerful with the Conqueror and Rufus. In 1095 William II confirmed the right of St. Peter's to the three lost manors, and ordered them to be restored. Some years later fresh disputes arose concerning Standish between the Churches of York and Gloucester, and it was not until the case had been tried in the Roman Curia and also in the provincial synods that the Archbishop, in general synod, renounced all claims to this manor, and it was confirmed to Abbot Hammeline about 1164.

In 1202 Abbot Carbonel set aside the proceeds of the Manor of Standish for the benefit of the poor. This was the origin of the Almery of Standish, now used as a parish school, though, of course, the present building is of much later date, being probably early Tudor. In 1301 Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, issued injunctions to the Abbot and Convent of Gloucester, in which (No. 14) he enjoins them to keep up the Almery of Standish, according to the bequest of Abbot Thomas Carbonel. In the time of Edward the Second, 1307–27, the king's escheator, John de Hampton, held an inquiry into the abbot's stewardship of the manor, and finding that certain weekly gifts of

corn had been kept back from the poor, took the manor into the king's hands. It was only at the personal request of the king that it was restored.

No reason is given for the abbot reducing his gifts to the poor; but as the church appears to be of that date, it is possible that some of the manor rents were spent on its construction.

In 1516 the evils arising from indiscriminate almsgiving were so great that Abbot William Parker, with the consent of the convent, put an end to it, and founded instead a fraternity of the Holy Cross, consisting of a prior and twelve others, who were to be selected from the aged monks, impoverished tenants, and other dependants of the abbey.

On the Feast of St. John the Baptist in each year to these bedesmen were given thirteen "honest" gowns of broad cloth, with close sleeves and a large hood, having the arms of the abbey affixed to the right shoulder and a cross of red and blue on the breast. Every one, moreover, was to wear a great pair of beads, and the prior, by way of distinction, was to have a "scapulary," or piece of cloth falling from the shoulders before and behind, and reaching nearly to the feet. They were to receive each one of them daily a loaf of bread called "holyer," and a drink of beer, and eightpence a week by the hands of the sub-prior. Their principal duty seems to have been to attend the services of the church, and to pray for their founder, Abbot Parker, and for other pious donors long since gone to their rest.

It would seem that these bedesmen lived in Gloucester at the abbey, and not at Standish, so it is difficult to explain for what purpose the Almery was built, as it seems to have been, in the reign of Henry VII or Henry VIII.

On the dissolution of St. Peter's Abbey the Manor of Standish was granted to Edward, Duke of Somerset, and, on his attainder to Sir Anthony Cook. Sir Henry Winstone was Lord of the Manor in 1608, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century Sir Ralph Dutton was seized of it. His lineal descendant, Lord Sherborne, is the present lord.

The church, which is dedicated to St. George, consists of a nave and chancel only, with two porches (one used as a vestry) and a remarkably fine spire. The windows, which are Edwardian in style, appear to be original. The east window is very rich in tracery, having five lower lights and many others above. The glass was made by Clayton and Bell in 1872. There is a piscina for the high altar on the south side of the chancel, and another for an altar in the nave at the east end of the north side. The doors leading to the rood-loft remain. The rood-loft itself probably disappeared in 1765, when many alterations were made.

The roof of the nave has 160 bosses, all different.

A flatstone in front of the altar covers the grave of Bishop Frampton, and bears the arms of the See impaling his own. He became Bishop of Gloucester in 1681, and refusing to sign the oath of allegiance to William of Orange in 1690, he was deprived of his bishopric, but was allowed to retire to Standish Vicarage, where he died in 1708. There are many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gravestones in the church and churchyard; the earlier ones are characterised by the boldness of the lettering, and the latter by their excellent carving. The yeomen of Standish and the neighbourhood, who were probably also clothiers, seem to have been well-to-do, if we may judge by their lavish expenditure on monumental erections over their dead.

The carving is somewhat gruesome, and much more classic than Christian, and there is a good deal of repetition of Old Father Time with his scythe and hour-glass, and of Death with his arrow and spade.

In the eighteenth century there is a manifest deterioration of artistic feeling, the favourite expression of grief and hopelessness being a young girl resting her elbow on a broken pillar beneath a spreading willow. Later on we have the hideous headstone with a bodiless cherub, still, it is to be feared, dear to the rustic heart.

The Almery, on the west side of the churchyard, near the entrance-gate, has two good Tudor doorways, with oak leaves in the spandrels of the arch. This building was probably erected early in the sixteenth century, before it was decided to do away with the weekly doles to the poor, which, according to the abbey register, caused "many inconvenyens and inordynate behavyor, as brawlynge, swerynge, blaspheminge and fyghtynge, with infectyffe resorte of sycke and unthryfty persons, to the gret dysquyetnesse" of the monks and their tenants.

The Gatehouse leading to the Manor Court still remains, with the porter's lodge on the west side. A few years ago, at the request of this Society, the Lord of the Manor, Lord Sherborne, had it carefully repaired, and one of the arches preserved from destruction by the insertion of a flying buttress.

Canon NASH offered prayer when the party had assembled in the church, and afterwards gave a highly interesting paper on the building and neighbourhood, which was afterwards expanded into the account of the church and parish, which found a place in the very interesting series of papers on Gloucestershire Churches which is now appearing in the *Gloucester Journal*.

The parish of Standish must from very early Christian times have been an important one, possessing as it did three daughter churches, viz. Hardwicke, Randwicke, and Saul. Of these three one, Hardwicke, is still ecclesiastically united with it, the two together forming but one

benefice. Traces of its close connection with the other two are to be found in the facts that the right of presentation to the benefices of Randwicke and Saul is vested in the Vicarage of Standish, and that there is still paid an annual sum of £10 8s. by way of "pension" from Standish the mother to Randwicke the daughter. The area of the old ecclesiastical parish is very large, stretching from the western slopes of the Cotswold escarpment down to the banks of the Severn, and embracing the large "island" of Colethrop, or Coldthorp, entirely isolated from the rest of the parish. The name "Coldthorp" seems to suggest that at one time there was there a settlement of Danes. Thus it comes to pass that persons now resident in the parishes of Pitchcombe, Harescombe, Haresfield, Moreton Valence and Longney have rights of marriage and burial in the church and churchyard of Standish.

It would be interesting to know why many parishes situated some miles from the Severn had, nevertheless, a small frontage to the river bank. Standish and Moreton Valence are two notable examples, both reaching from the hills to the river. Probably the early landholders made a point of obtaining access to the Severn, in order to possess what would have been most valuable—the rights of fishing and water carriage. This would to some extent account for the shape of the parishes—great length east and west, with comparative narrowness north and south.

There is evidence from the Calendar of Papal Registers that there was a church in Standish in the year 1291, when among the papal letters it appears that a relaxation of one year and forty days' penance was promised to penitents who should visit the Church of St. Nicholas, Stanedes or Standes, in the Diocese of Worcester, on the feast of that saint, on the four feasts of the Blessed Virgin, and on the anniversary of the dedication of the church. But of that church there seems to be no trace remaining. It is probable that it was a wooden one, and very likely thatched, and that fire was the cause of its complete disappearance, and of the building of a new one to replace it. It was estimated by the architect of the restoration of the present church in 1866, Mr. St. Aubyn, that it was built in 1348. It is, however, open to doubt if that estimate is correct, since that was the year of the "Black Death," the ravages of which were so disastrous that nearly all building was at a standstill. Canon Bazeley thinks that the more probable date was 1325, or thereabouts, since the monks of Gloucester Abbey, who built it, were engaged in the middle of the fourteenth century in erecting the splendid Perpendicular work in their own abbey church, and it would be very unlikely that at the same time they would be engaged in carrying out a work of a totally different order of architecture at Standish.

The building is a beautiful specimen of the pure Decorated style, and is very interesting as being still, so far as the fabric is concerned, in almost exactly the same state as it was left by the original builder's hands. No addition has been made to it, and no material alteration. The lofty nave, the spacious chancel, the stately chancel arch, proclaim its designer to have been a man who considered that even a village church should be a solemn and dignified place of worship. The east window is particularly noticeable for its fine, graceful tracery, and is selected by Rickman as one of his examples of the pure Decorated style. The broach spire is remarkably slender and needle-like, and shares with Slimbridge the honour of being one of the most graceful spires in the Vale of Berkeley. At the north-east of the nave there was a side chapel, very small, with an ogee piscina. Here has been deposited an ancient tombstone or stone coffin lid, with the face of a nun, or widow in wimple, *temp.* fourteenth century, carved upon it, found, it is believed, at the west end of the church, or in the basement of the tower. Before the restoration in 1866 the chancel was without choir seats, and was furnished with an oak rail running round the north, south and west sides, round which the Communicants knelt during the time of celebration, and at which they received the Sacrament. The coved roof of the nave is worthy of attention, being divided into panels by ribs, at the intersection of which are large and handsome bosses, each carved in a different design. The stained windows (two by Clayton and Bell, three by Bell of Bristol, and one by Mr. Kemp just before his death) are all modern glass, the five north and south having been given during the last few years. They greatly improve the appearance of the interior, which, as Sir Stephen Glynne says, was before "glaring, bare and unsatisfactory." The reredos is a late addition of "opus sectile" work representing the four Evangelists, but is hardly in keeping with the general style of the church. The steps to the rood-loft appear on the outside wall as a large projection, perforated with a sort of half arch, a curious and unusual feature. The church was evidently in close connection with the Grange or Almonry originally belonging to St. Peter's Abbey. It is often erroneously called a priory.

The vicar has the following account of it left him by his predecessor, and given to him by the late Mr. J. D. T. Niblett: "At Standish was a building called the Almonry, erected for the use of the abbey. The place gave name to the Chief Almoner of the abbey. His residence was at the Court House, part of the Almonry, the gateway whereof still remains. There was a corresponding gateway on the south side. The Bede House remains on the north side of the church."

Another account says that the Grange was probably the residence of the abbey steward in charge of the great extent of abbey lands,

but no doubt also housed brethren sent down from Gloucester for work or for health's sake. The gateway, probably of the fifteenth century, now in ruins, but well preserved owing to the care of Lord Sherborne, the present owner, who has built a retaining buttress, is an excellent specimen of domestic mediæval architecture. It had its porter's rooms, one at the side with a beautiful two-light window, and one on the first floor above the gateway. Part of the ancient buildings is now used as a cheese-room, and is called by the occupiers of the present farmhouse "the monk's parlour." Probably it was the Refectory. The building to the north-west of the churchyard, now used as the school, is supposed to have been the Bedehouse of the monastery in Gloucester, where were housed the poor men, thirteen in number, whom they maintained and clothed. This building has very handsome buttresses on the churchyard side, and has evidently been superimposed on a smaller and still more ancient building, one wall of which, with enormous stones, still remains on the north side. The very handsome wall dividing the churchyard from the monastic buildings is worthy of notice, with its triple coping and peculiar doorway leading from the Grange to the church. There are still two water mills with mill-ponds, almost certainly the ancient buildings, but restored and refaced.

The hamlet of Colethrop, distant two and a half miles, has its own little mission chapel, dedicated in the name of St. Mary Magdalene, a picturesque and very convenient building, erected entirely at the cost of the late Mr. J. D. T. Niblett in about 1874. Mr. Niblett was then Lord of the Manor of Haresfield and Colethrop, and the first licensed lay reader in the Diocese of Gloucester. Before its erection a van was driven to Standish every Sunday morning to bring inhabitants of Colethrop to their parish church. Afterwards Mr. Niblett frequently officiated there to aid the parochial clergy. The mission chapel is still used every Sunday, and is licensed for the celebration of the Sacraments.

The parish church has six bells, on which are the following inscriptions :—

	Diameter.	Height.	Crown.	Waist.	Sound bow.	Size of all five given in inches.
1. Treble.	Charity brought me bear in the 1720th year, A.R.					
	28	21	48	53	2½	
2.	Gloriam Dei in Excelsis Sono, 1656.					
	30	23	55	60	2	
3.	W. Chew, G. Stratford, Gardi. 1656.					
	31	23	36	63	2	
4.	Giles Weyman, John Pridy, Church feare God, Anno 1651.					
	34	26	59	64	2½	
5.	Peace and Good Neighbourhood. A.R., 1748.					
	39	29	65	72	2⅝	
6. Tenor.	Sancta : Maria : Tho : Succurre : Pissima : Servo : Winelmo : Lawley : Vicairg : Caug : Me.					
	42	31	71	78	2¾	

The following interesting notes on the inscriptions were written by the late Mr. J. D. T. Niblett :—

No. 1, or Treble.—A.R., with a bell between, stands for Abraham Rudhall, one of a family of famous bell-founders at the city of Gloucester.

No. 3.—GARDI, for Gardiani, Wardens.

No. 4.—This very common patronymic of the neighbourhood is from that of Meredith, thus : " Ready " ap-Ready, Pready, etc.

No. 6, or Tenor.—The first line is a hexameter, the second is an odd mixture of Latin and English, and a jumble of cases. The cyphers WL were recently to be seen on a boss on the ceiling of Hardwicke Church.

The registers date back to the transcription ordered in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1559, and are a fairly continuous record, except for the years 1609–28 and 1628–53, when no entries seem to have been made. They possess one very interesting feature, viz. that in the years 1763–83 the entries are duplicated, and couched in terms not precisely the same. This seems to have been due to the claims of a clerk of the name of Beard, who conceived it to be his duty to make his own separate entry in addition to that of the vicar, and did so after his own fashion.

The church plate is exceptionally interesting. The beautiful and excellently preserved Elizabethan chalice and paten, date 1573, were presented by the late Mr. J. D. T. Niblett, and are specially used at Colethrop Chapel. The large chalice or cup is very worthy of notice, being Cromwellian, an age when naturally but very little church plate was made. Both are figured in *Gloucestershire Church Plate*, published by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

There are two interesting monuments in the church. One is the tombstone of Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, the non-juror, in front of the altar. He was dispossessed in the time of William III, and permitted to retire to Standish, where he was vicar for twenty years, from 1688 to 1708. On the stone are the arms of the See, and the inscription " Cætera quis nescit," which is found on many non-jurors' tombs—a delicate way of calling attention to the sufferings incurred through the persistency of their loyalty. The other is the mural tablet on the south side of the nave, with the arms of the family of Winston, who at the time held property in the parish, and were lords of the manor. The Winstons intermarried with the Churchills, and from this circumstance the present President of the Board of Trade derives, it is believed, one of his well-known names. The arms present a rather curious exception to the golden rule of heraldry, which provides that colour must not be charged upon colour nor metal upon metal. It will be observed that the tree is vert upon a ground gules. Mr. Were, an eminent authority, thinks the tree ought to be argent, but says that the

coat is very old and has been allowed for ages, and therefore must not be condemned now. There is also a stone in the chancel to the memory of Thomas Winston, with an inscription in English, a little uncommon at the date of 1483.

The vicar has in his possession a copy of a curious document or deed called "The Ordination of the Vicarage of Standish." It bears date August 2nd, 1348. Its object was to settle the "divers contentions, strifes and discords" which had been between "Master Walter de Evesham, perpetual vicar of the parish church of Standish, and his predecessors, vicars of the same place, and the religious men of the Monastery of Peter, of Gloucester." It is evident that this was one of the many instances of jealousy between the Regulars and the Seculars. Perhaps the dedication of the new church afforded a good opportunity for the settlement of the long-standing quarrel, for it stated that the reason for the "ordination" was that "the religious men minded that the Giver of Peace is not properly worshipped unless in times of peace." At any rate, by this deed, executed by the Abbot Adam de Staunton and his monks, the perpetual vicar, Master Walter, was confirmed in his possession of the tithes and manse and land, including the churchyards of "Standish, Rendewyk, Herdewick and Salle," and on the other hand it was enacted that he and his successors should "have and bear the cure of all and singular the souls of the parishioners, as well of the mother church aforesaid, as of all and singular the chapels of the same." So that the Vicar of Standish had the spiritual oversight of four parishes or chapelries at a considerable distance from each other, and it would be interesting to discover what was the original link that bound them all together.

This paper may be fitly concluded with an interesting legend, which the present vicar found floating in the memory of one or two old parishioners when he came in 1889. In some fields just to the north of the lane leading from Standish to Moreton Valence there are still standing five very ancient oak trees, venerable hollow trunks, with a few gnarled and scanty boughs. The legend was to the effect that these trees are the remnant of an avenue planted to commemorate and mark the road by which the body of Edward II was taken to the Church of Standish during its removal from Berkeley Castle to St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester. The trees would in that case be nearly six hundred years old. That the trees still standing do form part of an avenue is an undoubted fact, four on one side and one on the other; and a person standing in this avenue will discover the spire of the church almost exactly in the centre. The distance from the church to the present high road from Berkeley to Gloucester is nearly a mile and a half, and to that extent the procession must have diverged from its direct route.

No corroboration of the tradition is known, but it does seem possible that the funeral cortège, in days of exceedingly bad roads, and with heavy, lumbering wagon or hearse or litter, might soon after September 21st, 1326, the date of the murder, have found itself overtaken by the shades of night before reaching its destination, and might have deemed it advisable to make for the nearest monastic establishment, and that an appanage of the abbey to which they were bound, in order that the body might rest for the night in a consecrated building, and under the care of religious men of their own order and house. If so, then the church now standing, if it was built in 1325, had the honour of giving shelter to the remains of the murdered king for one night at least ; or if not built till some years later, then the church which was the forerunner of the present one.

Canon BAZELEY thought the date of the church was earlier than that given by Canon Nash, and in that case they would be in the same building where probably the body of King Edward II rested. He thanked Canon Nash for the address. He also referred to the possibility of a Saxon church having occupied the site before the present building. This might have been of wood, and lasted until the stone church was erected. If of wood, it would account for no traces remaining.

The party subsequently saw the church plate, the registers, the Almery, and the ruined gateway.

The journey was then continued to Moreton Valence, which lies a little on the western side of the Bristol to Gloucester road. The party first visited the moat, which lies to the west of the church. Here, tradition says, was the castle of the De Valences. At a distance of a hundred yards and more is an outer rampart, which looks as though at one time it was continued round the church and churchyard. Some of the visitors were somewhat sceptical concerning the traditional castle, owing to the small area enclosed by the moat.

Moreton Valence derives the latter part of its name from its owners in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, William and Audomar de Valence, Earls of Pembroke. In 1087 Durandus the Sheriff held the manor. The Saxon who had been dispossessed by the Norman conquerors was called Auti. In the reign of Henry III Robert de Pontlarch gave it to William de Valence, son of King John's widow, Isabella, and of Henry le Brun. He was slain in 1295 in France, and was succeeded by his son Audomar, who shared the same fate in 1323. Joan, one of his sisters and co-heiresses, who inherited Moreton, married Richard Talbot, of Goodrich Castle, and was ancestress of the Earls of Shrewsbury, who held Moreton till 1519. Then Arthur Plantagenet and his wife Elizabeth held it for a short time. Henry VIII granted it to Thomas Cromwell, and on his attainder it came to Sir William

Kingston, and then to his son Anthony. It was purchased by the Jerninghams, who held it in the seventeenth century. In 1712, when Atkyns wrote his *History*, it had come into the hands of the Duttons. The Church of Moreton Valence, dedicated to St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, consists of a Norman chancel and nave, a fifteenth-century south aisle or chapel extending the whole length of the church, and a Perpendicular western tower. The chancel arch is semicircular, with two members. The lower member, which is quite plain, springs from a square pier and abacus. The upper, which has a roll moulding, rests on a detached shaft set in the noke or angle of the arch, with an inverted cone capital. It is a simple and characteristic example of early Norman architecture. In the north wall of the chancel there is a narrow, oblong, semicircular-headed window, externally not more than a few inches in breadth, and deeply splayed within. This is a relic of the Norman church in its original condition.

The most interesting feature of the church is the tympanum, the semi-circular stone with which the head of the arch of a Norman portal is filled. It represents the Archangel Michael piercing the head of a dragon with a spear, which he holds in his right hand. In his left he holds a convex shield or buckler, such as was used in the twelfth century. A hand is seen above the dragon's head pointing upwards. The windows of the south aisle or chapel are all Perpendicular, of the usual late type, but the arcade between the nave and the aisle, and the arch which leads into the aisle from the chancel, are unlike anything in Gloucestershire, except at Chipping Campden. The octagonal piers, quirked capitals and moulded arches, are deeply grooved or fluted, and they remind one of the fan-shaped epaullières, or elbow armour, worn by knights and squires at the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. They may be seen on the effigy of Sir Thomas Peyton at Isham, and on the brass of Thomas Quatremayne at Thame. The chapel is a rare and somewhat freakish example of late fifteenth-century treatment. There is certainly some stained glass of that date in the east window.

It seems probable that the patron and builder of the church was Walter fitz Roger, nephew and heir of Durandus, or Walter's son, the famous Milo fitz-Walter. They were both Viscounts of Gloucester, the former in 1101–31, and the latter in 1131–43.

The Elizabethan church plate is described in the *Church Plate of Gloucestershire*, issued by this Society. The six bells were recast: four by Abraham Rudhall in 1696, one by the same firm in 1739, and the sixth by Thomas Mears in 1840. Many interesting sixteenth- and seventeenth-century gravestones are preserved in the south aisle. The church and parish deserve most careful examination and research, and would amply repay the time and labour required.

The Churches of Moreton Valence and Whaddon already in 1246 formed the endowment of a prebend in Hereford Cathedral.[1] As both estates were held under the Earl of Hereford, it is likely that the churches had been given to the cathedral by one of the earls. The earliest prebendary mentioned by Le Neve, however, was Ralph de Hengham, who was collated on October 29th, 1274, and who died in 1311. He was appointed to the office of Chief Justice in 1274, but was removed from the Bench and fined in 1289; he was, however, restored to his place in 1301. He owed his prebend at Hereford to Bishop John Le Breton, who had been one of the King's Justices. He held also other preferments at Exeter, Worcester and London.

In the church the visitors were received by the vicar, the Rev. J. P. Humphries Clark. The building consists of a Norman chancel and nave, a fifteenth-century south aisle or chapel extending the whole length of the church, and a Perpendicular western tower.

Mr. EMBREY, who has lived in the parish for the past twelve years, drew attention to the semicircular chancel arch with two members, and said that anyone at first sight would say it was Norman. He pointed out that one portion was a wall on the original arch, and from this he came to the conclusion that it was not an entirely Norman arch. In visiting the so-called Saxon church at Wareham, in Dorset, he had come across a similar arch, and had come to the conclusion that they were both Norman outside and Saxon underneath.

Mr. HUDD, who was called upon to speak by the President, pointed out that it was clear that the whole church, including the chancel arch, had been rebuilt in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, as appears from the diagonal tooling all over the church. Attention was called to an inscription, imperfect at the beginning of each line, which appears on the abacus on the south side of the chancel arch. Some of the characters resemble those found in Anglo-Saxon inscriptions figured by Hübner in his *Inscriptiones Britanniæ Christianæ;* the purpose of others is not clear. Unhappily, the difficulty of reading the stone has been much increased by the fact that since the visit of our Society someone has traced what he supposed to be the forms of the letters over with a blacklead pencil, a piece of mischief which was done without the consent of the vicar of the parish. It seems that these marks were made in order that a photograph might be taken of the tracings; but the marks have been so unskilfully made that a photograph of the tracings would give but a very imperfect idea of the form of the letters. As the incisions are generally very light, it would be an extremely difficult task to remove the grains of blacklead from between the grains of the oolite on which the letters are cut. It is a deplorable thing that a

[1] Fosbrooke, i, 270, 304.

Page 12.

TYMPANUM OF NORTH PORCH, MORTON VALENCE.

Page 13.

CHANCEL ARCH AND NORMAN WINDOW, MORTON VALENCE.

visit of our Society should have been followed by such an unfortunate occurrence.

The following fragments can, however, be certainly made out :—

XRI · ET IN HONORE | INIS. ET sci STEPHANI PRO

It would seem, therefore, that the stone was of a dedicatory nature.

The fabric of the church does not seem to have received the attention which it deserves. There is an unusual wealth of marks upon the stones, both within and without, and some of the masons' marks would seem to be of much older date than the walls of the existing building ; this would certainly support Mr. Hudd's statement that the church has been rebuilt. It has been suggested that the stones once formed part of a castle which stood near, and if there ever was such a castle this is, of course, quite possible ; or they may have formed part of an older church. But a competent observer, who really understood old English building, would find here a most interesting object of study.

On a wedding-day, one of the worst blunders possible—according to tradition—is for the bridegroom to put in an appearance late. A wedding party at Moreton, however, determined not to make that mistake, and whilst Mr. Embrey was engaging the attention of the archæological party in the church, a wedding party arrived at the church. It was then 12 o'clock, but the ceremony was fixed for 12.30, and the wedding party had an unwelcome wait—borne in the best humour, followed by an unexpected publicity when the visitors returned to their conveyances.

Returning to the main road, twenty minutes' drive brought the party to Frampton-on-Severn.

This charming village consists of two rows of picturesque detached houses separated by a broad road and village recreation ground, known as Rosamund's Green. Rudder tells us that early in the eighteenth century this green was an unhealthy marsh, the road well-nigh impassable, and ague rampant amongst the inhabitants ; but that Mr. Richard Clutterbuck, who was descended from one of the daughters and coheiresses of John Clifford, cured all these evils by draining the low-lying land.

We learn from Domesday Survey that Drogo fitz Ponz held Frampton in 1086. His descendant, H. F. Clifford, Esq., holds it at the present time.

Drogo fitz Ponz, who claimed descent from Rollo and Richard *sans peur*, came to England with the Conqueror, and was accompanied by his two brothers, Richard and Walter. He died in 1087 *s.p.*, and was succeeded by his brother Richard, who had two sons, Simon and Walter. Walter took the name of Clifford from a manor he held in Herefordshire,

and was ancestor of the Earls of Westmoreland. A junior branch of his family retained possession of Drogo's Manor of Frampton for many generations.

The great barons of the Clifford family are forgotten by all but a few students of the past, but one frail member of the family, Fair Rosamund, lives on in history and romance.

An upper room in the old Manor Farm, on the north side of the green, is said by tradition to have been the scene of her birth. It would be cruel to suggest that this is improbable, or to throw any doubts on her "bower" at Woodstock, or the labyrinth in which her royal lover, Henry II, tried in vain to secure her from the jealous wrath of Queen Eleanour. Rosamund died in 1177, and was buried at Godstow, near Oxford, where the following couplet is said to have been placed over her grave :—

> "Hic jacet in tumba, Rosa mundi, non rosa munda.
> Non redolet, sed olet, quae redolere solet!"

It is only fair to the memory of the injured Queen to record the fact that she was imprisoned in Salisbury Castle, under the jailorship of Robert Manduit, long before and did not regain her freedom till long after Rosamund's death.

Walter Clifford gave a mill in Frampton and a meadow adjoining it, called Lecton, to the nuns of Godstow.

The Knights Templars were also seized of lands in Frampton in 1273. The name of the present home of the Cliffords, "The Grange," suggests that it was once church property.

Their previous residence, which is somewhat pretentious, and is known as "The Court," was built by Richard Clutterbuck in 1731, after a design by Vanbrugh. It stands on the south side of the green, and may easily be recognised by its Georgian, classic style.

Two of the early productions of John Bayly, an almost unknown Bristol artist, and who died quite young, were at Frampton Court, then the residence of Mr. N. Clifford, but the present owner (Mr. Henry F. Clifford) has been unable to trace them, though there are a number of old paintings there with no names attached. There is another link with Bristol at Frampton, for according to extracts from a letter to N. Tyson (1820), the Royal Arms in the church of Frampton were painted by John Simmons, the Bristol artist, who also was responsible for the altar piece of All Saints' Church (city), "The Annunciation," taken down some few years since and removed no one seems to know where. Simmons also painted the portrait of Burgum, the pewterer, whose association with Chatterton is so well known. Only one seventeenth-century traders' token appears to have been issued

from Frampton, and only a few specimens are known to exist, Mr. J. E. Pritchard being the happy possessor of one. On the obverse is " John Maynard, mercer," in the field, " his halfpenny." On the reverse, " of Frampton, 1667," and in the field, " I.M. and a flower." It is evident that he was unmarried, as the token only bears the initials of one Christian name ; if married, it was the custom to put that of the issuer's wife also.

The manorial rights passed away from the Cliffords in the time of Edward II, and were held in succession by the fitz Paynes, Chidiockes, and Arundels. Early in the seventeenth century they were sold to Sir Humphrey Hook, and Sir Heel Hook held them in 1779. He left three sisters, co-heiresses, one of whom, Elizabeth Grove, sold them to Nathaniel Clifford, who was lord in 1807.

The Manor Farm appears to be part of other property which passed away from the Cliffords in the time of Richard II, through the marriage of an heiress with William Teste. In the time of Queen Mary it passed in the same way to the Codringtons ; and their arms, together with another coat which may possibly be for Teste, may be seen in the window of the hall. There is also some interesting carving in what is now an out-building, but which may formerly have been a chapel. From the Codringtons this property passed to Edward Bromwich about 1650, and soon afterwards to the Yates. In 1779 Robert Yate sold it to Samuel Peach. Then it passed to S. Cruger, M.P. for Bristol, with his wife, Miss Peach. It has fortunately come back to the Cliffords by purchase.

The church, which is dedicated in the name of St. Mary, is Decorated in style, having been consecrated in 1315. It consists of a nave with two aisles, a chancel with a chapel on either side, and a tower.

In the north aisle or chapel are two effigies of the Cliffords. A fair called " Frying Pan " Fair, was formerly held at Frampton, and may be held there still.

Lunch was served at the Bell Hotel, and afterwards the members found much to interest them in the Manor Farm, on the north side of the green, which is named after the famous Fair Rosamund, and tradition places an upper room in the house as that where she first saw the light of day. Canon Bazeley, however, told the members that the same tradition holds good of other houses.

Re-crossing the main road, and travelling east, Leonard Stanley was soon reached. On the journey, the party noticed on the right a lake of considerable size, with a plantation of young trees bordering it. The lake came into existence as the result of the carting away of thousands of tons of gravel for use in the construction of Avonmouth Dock.

On reaching Leonard Stanley, the party at once made their way to the priory church.

The chequered fortunes of the earlier house of Berkeley are traced in an article by the late Sir Henry Barkly in vol. viii. of the Society's *Transactions*. The line commences with three Roger de Berkeleys in succession, father, son, and grandson. It is the second of these, Roger de Berkeley II, who was the founder of Leonard Stanley Priory. His death is said to have occurred "a few months before Michaelmas, 1131"; and this is the only clue to the date of the foundation, which would seem to lie near the year 1130, or perhaps a little earlier.

Roger II, and his father before him, had been at serious issue with the Benedictines at Gloucester. In his father's case this ended in a reconciliation, Roger I entering St. Peter's Abbey, 1091, and dying a tonsured monk of that house. Roger II was apparently inflamed against the Benedictines on account of benefactions given by his father, and this probably induced him to incline to a different order, and to make Leonard Stanley (as he did) a house of Austin Canons.

The late J. H. Middleton, F.S.A., in an article of particular interest on the priory church[1], points out that here the aisle-less church, with its central tower, is the very type of a *Canons'* church of the period, as distinguished from the churches of other orders.

The Manor of Stanlege had come to Roger II from his childless uncle, Ralph de Berkeley, its Domesday possessor, and the essentially Saxon dedication of the parish church to St. Swithin suggests the inference that a church already stood upon the manor. It is perhaps worth considering whether the priory chapel,[2] with its herring-bone masonry and other traces of early work, may represent that earlier Saxon church, or part of it.

The site of the priory church and buildings was carefully selected, on the rising ground above "Seven Waters," with an abundant supply of water issuing from the hill, and here before or about A.D. 1130 the conventual buildings of modest but massive type began to rise.

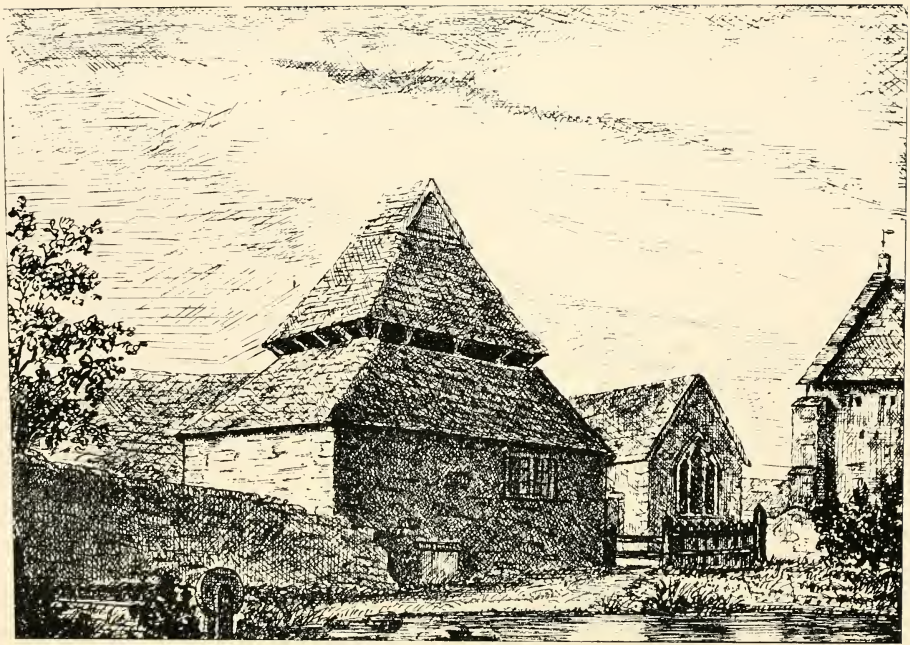
The dedication to St. Leonard, confessor, Frenchman, disciple of the great Bishop Remigius, friend and patron of prisoners, seems like a Norman protest against the Saxon dedication of the parish church. Thereafter the sixth of November must have been a day of special observance at Stanley. It is this dedication to St. Leonard which has for nearly eight centuries distinguished this Stanley from its once royal neighbour King's Stanley.

The inclusion of ancient church-lands at Berkeley in the endowment give the foundation the appearance of an act of restitution. Earl

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v.

[2] Now in the farmyard, and used as a cattle shed.

Page 16. LEONARD STANLEY PRIORY, CHURCH AND MANOR HOUSE, 1786.



Page 17. LEONARD STANLEY PRIORY CHAPEL, AND KITCHEN, 1787.

Godwin had filched the lands of the nuns of Berkeley, and the de Berkeley family were perhaps not quite comfortable in the possession of them. Anyhow "the prebend which Bernard the chaplain had in Berkeley, and all the lands which he had held in Berkeley Hernesse in franc almoigne," together with the churches and tithes of Arlingham, Coaley, Ozleworth, Slimbridge, and Uley, also houses and lands in Stanley town and elsewhere, formed the principal part of the original endowment given by Roger to his Black Canons. The inclusion of the Berkeley prebend may account for Sabricht or Tabrith, Canon of Berkeley, being the first recorded prior.

These endowments were confirmed by Roger de Berkeley III, son and heir of the founder.

So small a foundation proved too weak to hold its own during the troubled reign of Stephen. The founder's son, Roger de Berkeley III, gave it, for the sake of protection, to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, King Stephen confirming the gift at the request of Walter de Lacy, Abbot of Gloucester, who died A.D. 1139. Perhaps this transfer of a house of Austin Canons to a Benedictine Monastery was not very easy to effect, for it does not seem to have been completed, with the consent of Tabrith the prior and his canons, until 1146, when it was brought to an issue under the auspices of Simon, Bishop of Worcester. It would be interesting to know under what conditions and on what terms the transfer was consented to.

In 1156 the priory received from Roger de Berkeley III the Rectory of Cam, and either then, or shortly after, the lands in Stanley called Five Acre Grove. The donor had then but lately been despoiled of his extensive Manor of Berkeley, and restored to the Honour of Dursley. He died 1170. This Roger III had a daughter, Alice de Berkeley, married to that Maurice Fitz-Harding who dispossessed him of Berkeley. Her son, Robert Fitzharding of Berkeley, increased the endowment with a mill ("*cum scopiolis*"), messuage and lands at Coaley at some time before his death in 1219, and a few years later his brother and successor, Thomas Fitzharding of Berkeley, induced Thomas de Bredone, Abbot of Gloucester, after a law-suit, to give up the Rectory of Slimbridge in exchange for the farm and Manor of Loringe, A.D. 1224. At some time the little priory became possessed of other lands at Ebley, Stinchcombe Owlpen and Easton Grey; of tithes at Nympsfield, Beverston and Aylburton, with portions or pensions from the Rectories of Dursley and Dodington, some of which may have been part of the original endowment, and some have resulted from transactions connected with corrodies and from various exchanges.

The whole life of the priory did not extend, perhaps, beyond 409 years (*c.* 1130–1539). During those four centuries we seem to have no

record of any special distinction in learning or piety of the alumni of the house. It is said that some years ago a memorial stone in the south transept of the church recorded the death in 1190 of Prior John Cross, a doctor of divinity. When John Gamage was elected Abbot of Gloucester in 1284, one of the electors was Thomas de Tyringham, Prior of Leonard Stanley, who was possibly identical with the Thomas de Tyringham who viewed the rentale of the Berkeley Estate in 1288. The Furney MS. mentions a Prior Peter of early date.

Known references to this priory seem to be very scanty. A confirmation of "lands" to the prior and monks occurs in 1268. In 1276 there is mention of the fourth part of a knight's fee, presumably in Stanley, which *Henry* de Berkeley had anciently given to the Prior of Leonard Stanley. In 1375 King Edward III grants to Richard de Northland the corrody at Leonard Stanley, which John Minsterworth formerly had there.

The following list contains the names of some of the priors :—

A.D. 1146	SABRICHT, or TABRITH,[1] the Canon.
*c.*1190	JOHN CROSSE, D.D.[2]
1284	THOMAS DE TYRINGHAM.[3]
——	PETER,[4] the Prior.
1510	WILLIAM MONYNGTON.[5]
1516	RICHARD WOLRYGE.[6]
1535	JOHN RODLEY.[7]

Of these priors something has already been said of the first four. William Monyngton voted in 1510 with his monks, Hugh Morton and John Grene, at the election of Abbot Newton. He was afterwards, in 1516, Prior of St. Guthlac's, Hereford, another cell of Gloucester Abbey. Richard Wolryge had been Prior of Bromfield in 1510. In 1516 he voted, with his monks Robert Dursley and Thomas Braunche, at the election of Abbot William Parker, *alias* Malverne. He was still Prior of Stanley when, on August 31st, 1535, he had to sign the instrument acknowledging the royal supremacy. As he was not a pensioner in 1539, he was probably then dead. In October, 1535, John Rodley occurs as prior in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and he was afterwards admitted as third Prebendary of Gloucester Cathedral at its foundation, September 3rd, 1541.

1 Consents to transfer the priory to St. Peter's Abbey, 1146. *Cart. Mon. Glouc.*, i, 113.

2 Said to be buried under the vestry floor in the south transept. *Cotteswold Nat. Field Club Proc.*, 1865, p. 10.

3 Present in 1284 at the election of John Gamage, Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester. *Cart. Mon. Glouc.*, iii, 22-26; *Jeaye's Cat. of Berkeley Muniments*, p. 308, No. 22.

4 *Furney MS.*

5 *Cart. Mon. Glouc.*, iii, Introduction, p. xxxiv.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiv, xlix, lij.

7 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. ii.

Early in June, in the year 1539, the Abbot of Gloucester received a letter from King Henry VIII, in which the monarch expresses a pious regret that so "noble and solempne" a church as Gloucester Abbey should be ill furnished with a sufficient number of monks, and desires the said abbot to recall the monks remaining in the cell of Leonard Stanley. He further requests the abbot to grant a ninety-nine years' lease of Leonard Stanley Priory and all its endowments to his vice-chamberlain, Sir William Kingston, Knt.

Accordingly, by indenture (July 18th, 1539), the whole was so demised to Kingston, except "the rectory and parsonage of Camme and Stynchcombe," the advowsons of churches and part of Buckholt Wood in Frocester, from the 1st of October in that year, at a yearly rent of £36 13s. 4d., to the abbot, and of £8 2s. 4d. to the king for tenths, and a further payment of £40 to the abbey on each succession after the death of the leaseholder and his successors, the said Kingston to pay the Curate of Stanley and all customary charges, with license to pull down and alter such of the buildings as are not convenient for his occupation, he keeping the whole in good repair, and holding the abbot and convent quit of all claims in respect of the property.

At the Dissolution the gross income of the priory amounted to £126 0s. 8d., net £106 17s. 0d. Among the annual payments was one of 5s. to Nicholas Wikes, who must have been a descendant of the founder. £6 was paid to the Parish Curate of Stanley, and £13 6s. 8d. to the Vicar of Cam. Thomas Lane was then steward and John Stradlinge bailiff. The largest item of income arose from the Rectories of Cam (£39), Arlingham (£16), Coaley (£15) and Leonard Stanley (£7 6s. 8d). The perquisites of Stanley Manor were but 6s. 8d., but the rental of tenements in Stanley town amounted to £13 16s. 8d. The Rectories of Ozleworth and Uley had been alienated, only the advowsons remained to the priory.

The lease to Sir Wm. Kingston included specifically the "priorye churche theire and the chappellys and cloyster to the said priorye belonginge." Whatever this may have been intended to include, and one would naturally suppose it to cover the chancel, transepts, and tower, which had belonged to the priory, in contradistinction to the nave, which was the parish church, duly screened off by a wall from the monks' part, the abbot considered the four bells and the priory clock in the tower to be still the property of St. Peter's Abbey. Accordingly on November 4th, 1539, only thirty-five days after Sir Wm. Kingston's lease came into force, he sold for £30 to John Stradlinge, Gent., Richard Selwyn, Robert Partriche and John Towson, clothiers, on behalf of the parishioners, the said "iiij. bells and a clocke late callyd the pryorye bellys and clocke of Stanley aforesaid." It was one thing to buy the bells and

quite another to get access to them. Perhaps there were difficulties. However, six days later Sir Wm. Kingston executed a ninety-nine years' lease to the same four representatives of the parish and to all the parishioners " for the use of the tower and the ringing of the bells there " . . . " with free ingress and egress through the same tower and church atall tymes convenient for the only usinge, exercisinge and ringginge of the bells and clocke now hanged or beyng in the tower . . . and alsoe to breake up and make a way into the said church and tower for the recourse of the said parishioners for the use aforesaid." The parishioners to repayre the said tower." It is dated 10th Nov., 30 Hen. VIII. It is probable that the entrance which the monks had to the tower was under the roof and above the ceiling of the south transept. The way that the parishioners were " to break up and make " may refer to the existing stairway up the tower or to a way through the stone wall that screened the parish church (nave) from the priory church (choir and transepts).

A note to the documents recording these transactions informs us that Sir W. Kingston surrendered his ninety-nine years' lease to Henry VIII, taking another lease for seven years from the Court of Augmentations, and he afterwards obtained " a graunt in fee of the premisses from the king by his letters patent the estate of which Sir W. Kingston therein Mr. Sandford by sufficient parchments now hath." One of the Sandford family built the classical Manor Farm which now occupies the site of the monks' living rooms, in the gable of which is carved a fine blazon of the Sandford arms.

For an architectural description of Leonard Stanley Church, with ground plans and lithographed drawings of many details, see the late Professor J. H. Middleton's invaluable paper in the fifth volume of our *Transactions*, pp. 119–32. This volume is rather scarce, owing to most of the surplus copies having been destroyed in a fire at the printers', *c.* 1881 ; but members who do not possess it can obtain it for 10s. 6d. on application to the Hon. Treasurer.

The illustrations of Leonard Stanley are reproduced from pen-and-ink etchings, copied thirty years ago from *Grosse's Antiquities*, 1786–87, vol. viii, pp 75, 76, by Mrs. James Gabb, of Charlton Kings. The drawing of the conventual kitchen, with the openings in the roof for the escape of the smoke, is particularly interesting, as the building was long ago destroyed.

Mr. A. BARNARD added a few details as to recent discoveries, and said it had been found from examination that the two transepts, as Professor Middleton had anticipated, were chapels, and one had two altars, and the other probably an apse. He explained the plan of the church, pointing out there was formerly a screen across separating the people's

church from the canons' church. The whole of the work was probably about the beginning of the twelfth century, and they had transitional work on the capitals.

Canon BAZELY added a few words, and said the architect and the archæologist could spend several hours with profit in seeing the interesting things in the church. While it was a Norman church, the tower was fifteenth century, and a copy of the Norman style.

Leonard Stanley Priory, which was founded by Roger de Berkeley II about 1130, was visited, and the party subsequently strolled through the pretty little village to the National School, where they were entertained to tea by the Vicar, the Rev. G. W. Barnard.

After a pleasant ride, Stonehouse was reached, and the party returned by early evening trains, having spent a thoroughly enjoyable day, thanks to the guidance of the President, the control of the Secretary, and the care which had been bestowed on the programme by the President and the Rev. W. Symonds.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Summer Meeting, At Evesham,

Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, July 20th, 21st, and 22nd 1909.

The annual summer meeting opened at Evesham in fine weather. It is the second occasion on which the Society has visited the historic borough. It made it its head-quarters in 1884, under the Presidency of Canon Bourne, who delivered a noteworthy address. On that occasion he referred to the appropriateness of a visit to Worcestershire, for in ancient days Gloucestershire and Worcestershire formed the Kingdom of Wiccii, or Hwiccas, with Gloucester as the civil capital and Worcester as the ecclesiastical capital. Not only, too, is Evesham a border town, but the district has been associated from very early times with the most stirring history of our country, and prior to the Reformation the County of Gloucester, with nearly the whole of Bristol, formed part of the Diocese of Worcester, and numbers of Worcestershire people appear to have gone and settled at Bristol, in order to make their own fortunes. Eight years ago the Society assembled at Evesham, and visited two of the churches and the bell tower before proceeding to Chipping Campden, where it held its annual meeting, under the presidency of the Earl of Gainsborough, in the ancient town hall.

For the Evesham gathering the numbers were not so great

By the kindness of Messrs. W. H. Smith.

ABBOT REGINALD'S GATEWAY, EVESHAM.

as at some of the meetings. Amongst those present were the Rev. Canon Bazeley, M.A. (retiring President), Professor C. W. C. Oman (President-elect), Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A. (Hon. Secretary for Bristol), Mr. Michael G. Lloyd-Baker (Hon. General Secretary), Archdeacon Sinclair, the Rev. C. S. Taylor (Hon. Editor), Dr. L. M. Griffiths and Il Commendatore Rivoira (Rome).

Of the great Abbey of Evesham there now remains the charming group of buildings in and around the churchyard or close; Abbot Reginald's Gateway to the north towards the town, flanked by the old vicarage; the great bell tower to the east; the scanty ruins of the abbey buildings to the south; and in the middle, side by side, with only one great chestnut between them, the two churches of All Saints and St. Lawrence. The abbey church, one of the great churches of England, with a central tower built by William de Stowe in 1319, and adorned with rich fittings in the time of Abbot Lichfield, 1513–39, has wholly disappeared, and its site, a hundred years after the Dissolution, was "a huge heap of rubbish overgrown with grass."[1]

The whole place, so lavishly added to by Lichfield, is a striking testimony to the fact that the suppression was utterly unexpected, and that the blow fell on a still growing institution.

That a great abbey should have had *two* secular or parochial churches connected with it was not unusual. The group at Bury St. Edmunds, like that at Evesham, retains with its gateway tower two parochial churches. The gateway leading from the Market Place into the churchyard bears the name of Abbot Reginald, because the lower part on either side was built by him in the twelfth century. The picturesque half-timber buildings which surmount and enclose the Norman work are, of course, much later, dating probably from the fifteenth century. Thanks to the generosity of the late Mrs. F. W. Holland and other donors, the whole block has been acquired for parochial use, and is now known as the Church House.

Of the two churches All Saints' is the larger and more architecturally varied. It consists of a west porch, west tower, nave, aisles, transepts, Lichfield chapel, chancel, and vestries. Outside, the most unusual feature is the very rich sixteenth-century west porch with entrances north and south, a fine moulded west window, and very high, open parapet. The tower is small, with an elegant spire.

On the west gable of the north aisle is a niche with a figure. Inside the porch is a good flat roof of moulded oak rafters, and in the middle

[1] Habingdon.

an exceedingly fine oak boss, on which are carved the crown of thorns and the five wounds on the heart, the hands, and the feet, the design adopted soon after as the badge of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Over the door is a very delicate Perpendicular niche.

The church, about 130 feet long by 73 feet at its widest part, has an early arch opening into it from the porch, on the north side of which is a stoup.

The nave of four wide bays is divided from the aisles by a continuous arcade to the south, and three arches with a break and a transeptal arch on the north, above which is a low clerestory with quatrefoil windows, and the whole is covered by a tie-beam roof. The aisles are wide, with reticulated windows. Of the contents of the nave and aisles there remain a niche, with a headless figure on the north-west pillar; a very rich piece of decoration, much mutilated, in the south-east corner of the north aisle, consisting of a small and delicate stone triptych, with a two-light opening over it; an aumbry in the north transept; and a good font.

The chancel is much modernised, and of little interest. The great feature of the interior is Abbot Lichfield's chantry chapel of Our Lady and St. Ecgwine. The very gorgeous roof of fan tracery is worked in two circles, two semicircles, and four quarter-circles. The pendant, a very rich one, is in an unusual place at the side against the wall. A design of roses surrounds the shield and monogram of Clement Lichfield. The old altar and reredos have disappeared, also the old glass; otherwise the chapel is uninjured.

In the church are hung up lists of the abbots from St. Ecgwine to Lichfield and his nominal successor; also of the vicars of the two parishes from 1535 to 1647, and of the united parish from 1662 to the present time.

St. Lawrence's Church, though showing some traces of earlier work, is in the main a simple sixteenth-century church, built straight off as one now sees it. Its history appears to be that it was entirely rebuilt by Abbot Lichfield, and perhaps barely finished when the abbey was seized. From that time it went gradually to decay, till in the eighteenth century the roof fell in, and the church remained in ruins till 1836, when it was partially restored, and completed in 1889. It consists of a west tower of four stages, surmounted by a low spire; nave and chancel under a continuous roof; north and south aisles; and south chantry. Outside, the most important feature is the east end, which is richly designed with elaborate tracery and panelling round a large six-light window filled with rather singular late tracery. Inside, the church is simple and uniform. The nave is of four bays, east of which is a break for the rood-loft, with two small arches into the aisles; then a chancel

of three bays and a sanctuary. The spandrels of the arcades are filled in with tracery, and above is a rather rich clerestory with four lights to each bay. Under the tower is a good sixteenth-century screen.

The present plaster ceilings are of course modern, and all the ancient fittings have disappeared. The general effect is consequently rather cold and formal; but one has to read into it the rich woodwork of rood-loft, stalls, and pews, the decoration of altars, and the strong colours of the painted glass to judge of the effect intended when it was built.

Of two chantry chapels, that of Abbot Lichfield on the south remains intact. It is a rich example of the period, with a square fan-tracery vault formed on a circle with central pendant and four semicircles, the pendant being carved with roses. The altar and reredos have disappeared, but the two large niches on each side of it have survived, without their statues. A fifteenth-century font now stands in the middle of it.

The bell tower, which is 110 feet high, has always stood detached, as at Salisbury Cathedral, Berkeley, and elsewhere. It was built between 1533 and 1539 by the last abbot, Clement Lichfield; and it is therefore, like Bath Abbey, a very late example of Perpendicular architecture.

The abbey occupied the space between the churchyard and the Abbey Lane, the crossing of the abbey church with the great central tower above it lying due south of Lichfield's bell tower. Three churches have stood on this site. The first was founded by S. Ecgwine in 701; the second by Oswald in 960, and finished in 1011; and the third was begun by the first Norman abbot, Walter de Cerisy, 1077–86, and not completed till the fifteenth century. The last was completely destroyed by order of the king's commissioners at the Dissolution, the only remains visible being the base of the north-west pillar of the thirteenth-century tower and a fragment of the north transept wall.

To the west of the crossing lay the nave of the abbey church, and to the east towards the river extended the choir, presbytery, and lady chapel. The whole length of the church must have been nearly 300 feet, whilst the crossing, together with its two transepts, was 116 feet. Beneath the high altar, about 100 feet east of the central tower, were laid the mangled remains of Simon de Montfort. Surely the spot should be marked by some memorial worthy of one who was regarded by our forefathers as a saint and martyr, and whom we may honour as a great English patriot, though a foreigner by birth.

To the south of the church were the cloisters, surrounded by the conventual buildings: in the east walk the slype, the chapter house (the vestibule arch of which alone remains), the abbot's parlour and the dormitory or dorter; in the south walk the warming house, the refectory

or frater, the butteries and kitchen ; and in the west walk the abbot's lodgings.

Beyond the cloisters to the west were the abbey stables and the gate house. Outside the gate stood the almonry or almery, where the almoner of the abbey distributed alms and accommodated such guests as were not admitted to the abbot's table. There is an exhaustive paper on this interesting building by Mr. E. S. Ridsdale, with many architectural plans and drawings, in the ninth volume of our *Transactions*, pp. 128-33. In Merstow Green, on the site of an older grammer school, built and endowed by Bishop Lichfield, is an old house, now used as an armoury, but which was formerly a Free Grammar School, founded by Prince Henry, eldest son of James I.

Evesham was constituted a corporate borough under a charter granted by James I, March, 1604, in the name of the young Prince. There is a portrait of Henry in Magdalen College, Oxford, with a shield in the top left corner bearing the two feathers and crown of the Prince of Wales, the wheatsheaf of Chester of which he was Earl, and the bordure bezanty of Cornwall, whose Duke he was. These were combined to form the arms of the new borough.

In 1605 a second charter joined Bengeworth to Evesham, and created a mayor instead of a bailiff, seven aldermen in lieu of twelve, twelve burgesses, and two representative burgesses to Parliament. In 1867 the borough was deprived of one of its members, and in 1885, the borough was merged into the Evesham Division of Worcestershire. Near the Town Hall, on the south side of Bridge Street, is the old Booth Hall, now converted into shops, where the court of *pie poudre* was held during the fair. The old Guild Hall was near the bridge, and was taken down when the bridge was rebuilt in 1856. Views of the picturesque old bridge are given in May's *History of Evesham.*

The old borough seal bears a conventional view of the town with its tower, gatehouse, and two churches, and the inscription " Evesham *Liber ab Henrico factus sum Principe Burgus* 1604."

The arms of Evesham Abbey were : *Azure a chain couped in chevron between three mitres all argent, at the dexter end of the chain a padlock of the last.* This, as is well known, refers to the pilgrimage of S. Ecgwine to Rome in fetters and the miraculous discovery of the padlock key.

The proceedings of the meeting opened at eleven o'clock, when the members of the Society were received by the Mayor in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall. Amongst those present, in addition to His Worship, were Aldermen Smith and Morris, Councillors Fisher, Righton, Phillips, Beck, Masters

and Field, the Town Clerk, Messrs. A. H. Martin, E. D. Lowe, T. Cox, J. Bracher, E. A. B. Barnard, G. K. Bell, H. S. Harvey and A. J. Warman.

The Mayor, who wore his official robes, said it gave him and the Corporation great pleasure to welcome the Society to their ancient borough. They had come at a period of the year when the town was at its best, and they would have an opportunity of seeing many things of great interest in the beautiful and ancient town. He believed it was something like twenty-five years since the Society visited Evesham. Since then a great many improvements had been effected by the governing body, and he trusted the Society would discover many things of interest which would be handed down for generations to come. He hoped the Society's visit would be a pleasant one. The Mayor added that Mr. William Gardner, who was Mayor when the Society previously visited Evesham, regretted that he was unable to be present that morning.

In proposing a vote of thanks, Canon Bazeley said they were very grateful to the Mayor for having received them. It was always a very great help to their Society when the civic authorities of the towns they visited welcomed them. They felt that they were heart and soul with them in their wish to preserve all that related to their interesting past. In Evesham they were surrounded by memories of the past. One of their greatest abbeys was here, now, alas! no longer. Perhaps if the citizens of Evesham were to speak the truth they would be somewhat glad that the abbey had vanished, for they could understand that as long as the abbot was there there was little room for the mayor or aldermen. On the seal referring to Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I, Evesham said: "I am free through Prince Henry," which he was afraid must mean that the abbey was destroyed, and that the abbot was no longer there to tyrannise over the civic inhabitants; therefore they could understand that while they valued the remembrances of the great abbey, they might at the same time welcome the sweeping work of Henry VIII in removing the abbey when

it had done its work. Since that time Evesham had been progressing, and at the present time it held a high position amongst the civic boroughs of England.

Mr. O. H. FOWLER seconded the resolution, which was carried with acclamation.

The chair was then taken by the retiring President, the Rev. Canon BAZELEY, who called upon the Hon. General Secretary (Mr. MICHAEL G. LLOYD-BAKER) to read the annual report, which contained the following :—

The number of members is 506, as against 530 last year. The Finance Committee have carefully considered the situation, and have made certain recommendations, which they hope will have the effect of strengthening the financial position of the Society. During the past year the Society has lost the services of two of its principal officers. On September 4th the Council received with great regret the resignation of their President, Mr. F. F. Fox, who had occupied that post for some years. His services to the Society, both as President of Council and in many other ways, are too well known to the members to require any detailed mention here. It is sufficient to say that it will be impossible for those who had the privilege of being associated with him in the work of the Society to forget the unvarying courtesy and tact, as well as the skill and knowledge, with which that work was carried on. The Council desire to place on record their deep sense of the many services rendered to the Society by Mr. Fox. By the unanimous wish of the Council, Canon Bazeley was selected to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Fox's retirement, and the Council congratulate the Society on being able to secure the services of a gentleman who has for many years been the mainstay of the Society. The Council have also to regret the loss of the services of their Honorary Treasurer, Mr. G. M. Currie, who has zealously discharged the responsible duties of his post for ten years, and they regret that increasing work in other directions renders it impossible for him any longer to remain in office. They recommend that Mr. J. A. Smithin, the manager of Lloyds Bank at Gloucester, be invited to succeed Mr. Currie. Owing in a large measure to the exertions of Mr. James Baker, the Council are happy to be able to report that the threatened destruction of the most beautiful and interesting camp in Leigh Woods has been averted, and that through the generosity of Mr. G. A. Wills it will be preserved in perpetuity for the enjoyment of the public. Mr. Hall Warren has resigned his seat on the Council, and his place has been taken by Mr. Charles Wells. The names of Mr. C. E. Boucher and Mr. O. W. Fowler have also been added to the Council.

The Honorary Secretary for Bristol reports that the work of the Society at Bristol continues to arouse interest, and that much greater regard is everywhere being shown to the relics of past times, and especially in association with the present.

There have been six evening meetings during the past winter session, five of which were illustrated with lime-light views. These meetings have been largely attended. The entire cost of these winter meetings is paid by an additional "nominal" subscription, each member of the session being permitted to introduce a visitor, only those members of the parent Society who have paid their subscription for the current year being eligible. The Honorary Secretary for Bristol desires to thank the President and Council of the Bristol and West of England Amateur Photographic Association for courteously granting the use of its room at the University and Literary Club for these meetings.

A few gifts of books to the Bristol Library have been received during the year, and the Honorary Secretary now invites promises of further works on armour, church brasses, bells, costumes, glass, mediæval tiles, and traders' tokens, which are specially wanted.

The Council desire to nominate for re-election the President of Council, the Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary General Secretary, the Honorary Secretary for Bristol, and the Local Secretaries, with the exception of the Rev. R. Lynch Blosse, who does not seek re-election. They also desire to add the name of their Treasurer, Mr. G. M. Currie, to the list of Vice-Presidents as a token of their appreciation of his services to the Society.

The following members of Council retire by rotation:—The Rev. W. E. Blathwayt, Mr. T. Dyer Edwardes, Mr. J. Baker, Mr. D. Wintle, Mr. E. S. Hartland, and Mr. J. J. Simpson.

On the motion of Mr. F. F. Tuckett, seconded by Mr. F. Were, the report was adopted.

The Rev. C. S. Taylor proposed a vote of thanks to the Rev. Canon Bazeley, and alluded to the services that gentleman had rendered to the Society.

Mr. Dauncey seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Canon Bazeley, after replying, said he had great pleasure in asking Professor C. W. Oman to take the chair as President, and remarked that that gentleman's name was a household word in Oxford, as one who spoke with the greatest authority on mediæval warfare. They might be proud of one

who had been for twenty-five years a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and therefore of necessity a gentleman and a scholar—one who had been for five years a Professor of the great University of Oxford. Professor Oman had had the honour for three years of being a member of the British Academy.

The President then delivered his address, which is printed in the present volume.

Mr. FRANCIS WERE said that, with regard to the President's remarks on numismatics, he should like to mention that the coins represented Alfred as a beardless man, while all the statutes erected to him presented him with a beard. The coin was the only contemporary portrait that they had, and the question was whether the statues or the coins were the most correct.

The PRESIDENT said that raised a most difficult question. They knew that the elder men of the Anglo-Saxons had beards, but the coins all represented, as Mr. Were had said, Alfred as a beadless man. There was this to be remembered—that the portraits on the coins of Alfred were copies of Roman coins, and unfortunately the emperors of that period were all beardless men.

The Rev. Canon BAZELEY said the President had thrown out a direct challenge. If there was anyone qualified to speak about Domesday it was Mr. Taylor, their Hon. Editor. It was a privilege to have such a learned man as the Editor of their *Transactions*, and the position their Society held was largely due to him. He hoped Mr. Taylor would take up that subject of the Domesday hundreds. Then their Hon. Secretary for Bristol, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, might take up the challenge as to the coinage of Bristol. There was no one who knew more about it than he did. He was sorry to have to tell them that business considerations would not permit Mr. Pritchard to continue his work as Local Hon. Secretary for Bristol, and he contemplated resigning his office at the end of the year. He hoped and trusted Mr. Pritchard would reconsider the

matter, and that he would be able to continue for some time longer. No one knew better than himself the work Mr. Pritchard had done in Bristol. The great increase in membership there was due to Mr. Pritchard's efforts. He was an excellent archæologist, and looked most carefully after all the researches that had been made in Bristol, and from time to time sent them notice of finds which, without those exertions, would in all probability have been lost. Mr. Pritchard was an ideal Local Secretary, and one he would hold up for imitation to every Local Secretary in connection with their Society. In conclusion, Canon Bazeley proposed a vote of thanks to Professor Oman for his address.

The Rev. W. E. Blathwayt seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The President, in reply, said they were glad to welcome amongst them Commendatore Rivoira, of Rome, whose reputation as an antiquary was world-wide, and he had promised to give them a short address. He also thanked the Deputy Mayor (in the absence of the Mayor, who had had to leave to attend a Police Court) and the Corporation of Evesham for their courtesy in receiving them, and placing their public buildings at their disposal, and for coming down in state with the town's beautiful insignia.

Councillor Fisher suitably replied, and Mr. E. A. B. Barnard gave a short account of the maces and loving cup. He said:—

On October 26th, 1626, twenty-two years after the incorporation of the borough, the council ordered "that whereas the maces carried before the mayor of this borough are much decayed and impaired through the ill-usage of the Sergeants carrying the same, and negligent and careless regard thereof by the former mayors, that all such as have been former mayors, in whose time any hurt or damage have happened unto the same shall amend and repair the same before Whit-Sunday next, upon pain of 5 marks. And that each succeeding mayor shall deliver the maces in good repair at the time of his oath-taking to the new mayor, and that the new mayor shall see that the maces are in good order, and if they are not he shall order the last mayor to repair

them, upon pain of 10s. fine. And the maces received great hurt and defect in the mayoralty of Mr. Nicholas Field, and so he must repair them before Easter next, upon pain of two pounds unless he can excuse himself from the same before Candlemas next."

These maces, carried before each successive mayor since 1604, have come down to us bearing, after all, few marks of the vicissitudes through which they have passed. They certainly show some evidence of necessary repair from time to time, and a small sum could with advantage be spent upon them at this moment; but their condition, after three hundred and five years of use, is much better than the resolution quoted above might lead us to imagine.

The maces are of silver-gilt, and correspond in their design and marks, the maker's mark being " J.A." Their only difference is that one of them bears the date 1604, and that the royal arms thereon are in enamel. There may be also a few years' difference in the date of their execution. They unscrew and form drinking cups after the usual manner. In the charter of 1604 it was noted " that two maces had been accustomed to be carried before the bailiffs," and by the charter of 1605 —which I will show this evening—it is ordered that " the Sergeants-at-mace shall carry and bear maces of gilt and silver, engraved and ornamented with the arms of the Prince Heir Apparent of the Kingdom of England."

The cup and dish given by Mr. Carew, so constantly quoted in the inventories of the eighteenth century, are of silver, and are very handsome in appearance. No mention is made in the minutes of 1660 of their presentation to the Corporation. The cup bears round its rim the inscription, " Given to the Corporation of Evesham by George Carew, of Aldington, in the Mayoralty of Thomas Harewell." On one side of it are the borough arms with a motto, " Connecta pacis Deo concordia vinctus, 1660." On the other side the arms of Carew are displayed, and a motto, " Ex dono Georgii Carew, anno doni 1660. Unus Societatis Evesham." The maker's mark is " T.G." The dish upon which the cup is carried bears the borough arms under the foot of the stem, and the Carew arms on the displayed surface, with an inscription similar to the last one above given. Mr. George Carew, the donor, was a member of the North Littleton family of that name.

The company then made a move in the direction of the churches. Under Abbot Reginald's Gateway Comm. G. TERESIO RIVOIRA (of Rome) gave a short address. He said :—

I am going to say a few words to you on two architectural features, which you see illustrated in Abbot Reginald's Gateway, under which we stand. The first is blank arcading, and the second the Lombardic cubico-spherical capital.

1. Blank arcading, as a decorative architectural element, was in use among the Romans in the time of Augustus, and it reached its culminating period in the second and third centuries. Noteworthy examples are to be found, among others, in the vestibule of the Piazza d'Oro in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and in the imposing ruins of villas at the foot of the Alban Hills near Rome. It does not appear in the east until later, and then under western influences, as I have proved in my work *Le Origini della Architettura Lombarda*. We find it first applied to Christian buildings at the close of the fourth century in the Church of San Protaso in Como. But it is in the basilicas of Ravenna, from the beginning of the fifth century, that we find a lavish use of blank arcading. Examples are to be seen in the churches of Sant' Agata, San Giovanni Evangelista, and in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia.

North of the Alps it was rarely used before the close of the tenth century, when the Benedictine monks brought in Italian influences, and it became general. It reached England first indirectly through Lombardo-Norman influence, and then as a direct importation; and we find it decorating the churches of Bradford-on-Avon, Wing, and Dunham Magna, all of them built in the eleventh century under these influences. In England, however, it quickly assumed a new form. The intersecting arch was applied, and intersecting blank arcading invented. We see this invention for the first time in the choir of Durham Cathedral, the first stone of which was laid by Bishop William of St. Carileph in 1093. Long before this, from very early times, intersecting arches had been used, but simply as a decoration, not as a decorative architectural element; and the first example of its use in this latter form is to be found in the great pile of Durham.

2. The Lombardic cubico-spherical capital was also known to the Romans, but as far as we know only in ornament. A sarcophagus of the fourth century, recently found at Lambrate, and now in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, is adorned with blank arcading supported by cubico-spherical capitals. As a constructive element we find the earliest instance of it in the colonnades of the nave of St. Abondio in Como, begun in 1013. (This capital—the result of the penetration of half a sphere and a cube—is not of Byzantine origin, and has no connection with the funnel-shaped Byzantine cubic capital, which is simply a bulging cube with its angles rounded off.) Very shortly afterwards, about 1015, we find this capital north of the Alps, in the Abbey Church of St. Michael, at Hildesheim.

It was introduced into France by Abbot William of Volpiano and Lanfrance of Pavia, and their scholars, and quickly spread in that country.

In England the earliest instance of certain date in which it appears

is in the remains of the crypt of St. Augustine's Abbey Church at Canterbury, begun by Abbot Scotlandus (1070–87). But here again, if England was the last to receive the cubico-spherical capital, she was also the first to transform it, and to create out of it a new form—the "scalloped" capital. We see the first step in this transformation in the transept triforium of St. Alban's Cathedral, built by Abbot Paul between 1077 and 1088, where the Lombardic-cubic capital appears with two half spheres on each face.

This elementary form received its development and completion in Gloucester Cathedral, begun by Abbot Serlo in 1089. In the eastern chapel of the crypt the two columns supporting the apsidal arch have capitals with four truncated inverted semi-cones on the face, and these capitals are the architype of the scalloped capital. In the triforium of the nave the new capital is seen in its perfected form.

Many people believe that the scalloped capital is of French origin, but the earliest specimen known in France is in the Church of St. Valentine at Jumièges, built between 1101 and 1127.

In conclusion, and until some proof to the contrary arises, it is to England that we owe the creation of two typical characteristics of the religious architecture of the Middle Ages: the intersecting blank arcading, and the Anglo-Lombardic cubic, or scalloped, capital.

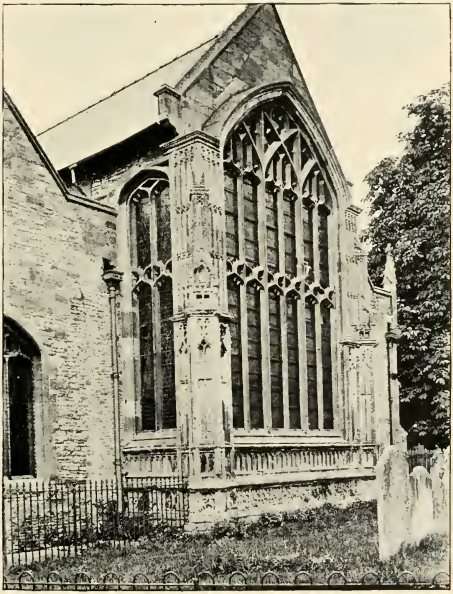
In the churchyard Canon BAZELEY, referring to the bell tower, said there were numerous detached towers in England, but that a detached tower with two churches was uncommon.

In All Saints' Church the members of the Society were received (in the absence from home of the vicar) by the Rev. H. A. Holmes, who said a few collects.

Canon BAZELEY gave a brief description of the building, in which he drew attention to several points of interest. He congratulated the clergy and parishioners on the screen and rood, and in regard to the latter said he hoped the old-fashioned, bigoted notion which objected to roods being placed in our churches would soon pass away, and that we might be able to restore to our churches those things which in themselves could not be bad. Having done away with the superstitions that accompanied them, surely they might take back things which were typical of their religion, and ought to help them to realise more thoroughly the presence of the Great Master in their churches.

The Rev. H. A. HOLMES mentioned that the screen was the work of Evesham men, from designs by Mr. Ford Whitcombe.

In the course of the discussion the suggestion was made that originally there might have been a screen which reached right across the church somewhat to the west of the present screen, and that the monastic part of the church reserved for the monks was to the east of this suggested



Page 34.

EAST END OF ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCH, EVESHAM.

Page 35.

ABBOT LICHFIELD'S CHAPEL, ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCH.

screen ; there might have been another screen between the portion to the east of this screen and the chancel. The altar for the people would stand in front of the lower screen, and there would probably be a rood over it.

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St. Lawrence Church was also visited. Here a discussion arose as to the fetterlock on the abbey arms. The Rev. H. A. Holmes repeated the story of St. Egwin throwing the key of his fetters into the Avon and finding it again in the mouth of a fish caught in the Tiber. Canon Bazeley smilingly remarked that he thought enough credit had not been given to the fish in this matter. Having got the key into his mouth, the fish performed the remarkable feat of swimming down the Avon to Tewkesbury, getting into the Severn there, passing down the Bristol Channel and across the Bay of Biscay, going through the Straits of Gibraltar, crossing the Mediterranean, finding the mouth of the Tiber, and getting caught just at the psychological moment.

In the afternoon the party was conducted over the site of the abbey by Mr. Barnard, and subsequently drove to Abbey Manor, where they were received by Mr. and Mrs. Rudge. Here much interest was manifested in the exhibition of relics of the abbey, the greater part of which were brought to light during the excavations conducted by the late Mr. E. J. Rudge in the years 1812–17. Special interest was shown in a ground plan in low relief of the site of the abbey. This plan, which is the work of Mr. F. G. Beck, is on a scale of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 100 feet, and is exceedingly well executed, and gives a very vivid idea of the plan of the abbey and its surrounding buildings.

Tea was served on the lawn, and on the motion of Professor Oman, Mr. and Mrs. Rudge were heartily thanked for their hospitality. Mr. Rudge suitably replied, and expressed the pleasure felt by Mrs. Rudge and himself at the visit of the Society. The party then adjourned to a spot from which a good view of the battle-field could be obtained, and here Professor Oman gave a very interesting account of the battle, and of the movements which immediately preceded it.

The annual dinner of the Society was held at the Northwick Arms Hotel in the evening. Among those present were the Mayor, the Town Clerk, and Messrs. A. H. Martin, E. A. B. Barnard, O. G. Knapp and G. K. Bell. Those present then adjourned to the Public Hall, where papers were read by Mr. Knapp on the Abbey of Evesham, and by Mr. Barnard on the Municipal History of Evesham.

Mr. KNAPP, in his paper, gave a brief outline of the salient facts in the abbey's history. He touched upon the picturesque stories of Egwin fettering himself, throwing the key into the Avon, and finding it in the belly of a fish caught in the Tiber, and of the vision seen by his swineherd, which led to the founding of the first church in Evesham,

and said that one point which seemed in need of clearing up was the name of the swineherd. This was given in the abbey chronicle as Eoves, a form accepted by all subsequent writers. But if Evesham meant either the home or the meadow of this swineherd, it would seem that Eoves represented a genitive case of which the nominative should be Eof. The story of the abbey under the Saxon kings was somewhat obscure, but it was for a considerable period in the hands of several bishops and lay owners, during which time the monks were twice expelled and replaced by Secular Canons. About 969 it was finally secured by the Benedictines, who retained possession until the Dissolution. Evesham fared well, on the whole, at the Conquest, chiefly owing to the prudence and ability of its abbot, Agelwig, one of the very few eminent Saxons who retained their positions under the new regime. It was in 1074, during Agelwig's rule, that a little band of three monks, two from Evesham and one from Winchcombe, set out, taking nothing but their books and vestments carried on the back of an ass, to restore the devastated monasteries of Northumbria. Their mission resulted in the revival of the monastic life at Whitby, Wearmouth, Jarrow and Lastingham, from which sprang the great Abbey of St. Mary's, York, which was reckoned as a kind of daughter church to Evesham. A little later, about 1096, another body of twelve Evesham monks crossed the North Sea and founded a monastery at Odensee, in Denmark. About this period Bishop Odo, of Bayeux, and Urso, the Sheriff of Worcestershire, seized a good deal of the abbey property, including most of Hampton and Bengeworth. The latter passed to the Beauchamps, of Elmley, who built a castle at the head of the bridge commanding the passage of the river. This was long a thorn in the side of the abbey, till at length the depredations of their armed retainers became unendurable. Then, when remonstrances and excommunications had alike failed, Abbot William de Andeville summoned his tenants, boldly stormed the castle, razed it to the ground, and made a cemetery of the site, about 1150–60. At this period too the abbots obtained from Popes Alexander III and Clement III the privilege of wearing all the episcopal ornaments symbolic of their exemption from episcopal visitation, and thenceforward they sat in Parliament among the barons, and in their own church officiated like bishops, except of course that they had no power to ordain or confirm.

After touching upon the remarkable literary production, *The Vision of the Monk of Evesham*, Mr. Knapp proceeded to point out that the Battle of Evesham increased the wealth and prestige of the abbey. Miracles were soon wrought at Simon de Montfort's tomb; he enjoyed a popular if not an official canonisation, and for a time the well and shrine of St. Simon of Evesham bade fair to become a centre for pilgrimages second only to

that of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The official record of the miracles gave particulars of over two hundred cures of some fifty different diseases, not only of human beings, but of animals, brought from all parts of the country. One devoted husband was recorded to have brought his wife all the way from Fleet Street, London, to Evesham, in a "chariot with one wheel and two legs." The vocabulary of the official scribe evidently contained no Latin equivalent for the humble wheelbarrow. The records of the later abbots were chiefly taken up with the acquisition of small parcels of land, additions to the ornaments and buildings of the abbey. It had been noted by no less an authority than Dr. Jessop that monks did not build parish churches; but whatever might have been the case in East Anglia, it would be difficult to understand (even if we had not specific instances of such buildings in the chronicle) how the churches in the neighbouring villages could have come into existence if they were not largely the work of the abbots, who were not only rectors but lords of the manor, and in most cases practically the sole owners of the soil. The revenues of the abbey at the Dissolution amounted to £1,829 10s. 1d., while the number of monks was thirty-three. In its most flourishing period there had been sixty-seven, with sixty-three or sixty-five servants. Perhaps it had never quite recovered from the effects of the Black Death, which not only reduced the number of the monks, but impaired their revenues, as much land was thrown out of cultivation for lack of tenants. The house was, however, in good order, and practically free from debt, while its abbot, Clement Lichfield, was a man of exemplary character and conscientious in the performance of his duties. He was not of the stuff of which martyrs were made; he had evidently seen the storm coming, and thought it useless to resist. He made what provision he could for some of his monks by assigning to them chapelries and vicarages by deed for life. Though his conscience would not allow him to surrender his trust, he yielded to pressure, and resigned his post. His nominal successor surrendered the property to the king, and was rewarded with the newly-constituted Deanery of Worcester. Lichfield lived long enough to see the abbey church and most of its adjacent buildings reduced to a heap of ruins, though happily those which he had himself built, the porch of the Grammar School, the chantry chapels in All Saints' and St. Lawrence, and the Bell Tower remained to this day.

Mr. E. A. B. BARNARD followed with a paper entitled, "Some Incidents in the Early Years of the Municipal History of Evesham." The speaker introduced his subject with an account of the circumstances under which the town was ruled in the intervening days between the dissolution of the abbey and the granting of the first charter in 1604, and proceeded to detail the circumstances under which the charter was granted, and the

various points of interest which it contains. Mr. Barnard explained that the 1604 charter is now lost, and that the 1605 charter, which brought Bengeworth within the boundaries of the borough, still remains the governing charter with very little alteration. The various companies or guilds were then dealt with, and the borough minutes of the year 1608 followed, concerning which Mr. Barnard had much of interest to say. At one of the meetings early in that year the Council took into consideration the behaviour of Francis Dingley, of Cropthorne, whose tomb, commemorating his death in 1624, the Society visited at Cropthorne the next day, and whose descendants, Sir John Dineley Goodere and Captain Samuel Goodere, were to play such a remarkable part in the history of this Corporation in 1734–35, as the result of which Sir John was foully strangled to death on board the *Ruby* at Bristol in 1741, at the instigation of his brother, Captain Samuel Goodere. The Captain was sentenced to death, together with the two bravadoes who consummated his crime, and was executed at Bristol on April 5th, 1741. In 1610 the plague came to Evesham, how seriously one was unable to say exactly. They did know, however, that in June and July many bodies were buried in that portion of the churchyard between the wall on the north side of the churchyard and the main path, for many years known as Strangers' Piece, until some fifty years ago unenclosed, and used as a pitch upon which to dry the washing of the inhabitants of the Pig Market—now Vine Street—and its neighbourhood. The pestilence grew more virulent as the summer progressed, and our Council began to bestir themselves seriously in the matter. On October 2nd those of them who were left in the town met to discuss the trouble which beset them. "Whereas it hath pleased God to lay His hands of visitation upon this borough by means whereof (as it hath been observed) many persons of good note and worth, and such as should be a stay to the government of the place, have and do withdraw themselves out of this borough into the country, leaving the people in the said town (as much as in them lies) destituted of help and comfort which the presence of the better part might much be increased and comforted." Therefore the Council resolved and ordered that no member of their body should leave the town during "the tyme of this visitation" upon penalty of £10. It was further ordered that the Justices of the Peace should have help from certain appointed inhabitants in watching over the various districts in the town allotted to them "in this so needful a tyme." Any inhabitant refusing to help in this work was to be fined £5. Finally, any burgess departing or removing from the town during the time of infection was to be fined £5, unless he had already received the license of the mayor. At the same meeting an order was made that "all inhabitants in this

infectious time shall keep in and detain in their several houses their pigs, swine hogs, and no more hereafter permit or suffer them to wander out of their houses into the streets." The fine for such offence was put at 12d. for every pig, to be levied by distress and impoundment of the animal, which was not to be delivered up until the fine was paid, and if refusal was made the pig was to be sold within three days of the impoundment, and the residue of the money returned to the owner. Two months elapsed before the Council met again, by which time it might safely be concluded that the pestilence had abated.

On Wednesday morning the party proceeded first to Cropthorne, where, in the absence of the vicar, they were received at the church by Mr. H. Day (churchwarden) and Mr. J. Downing. Attention was directed to the fact that the parvise over the porch has been removed. Canon Bazeley mentioned that these rooms were used for various purposes. At St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, where, however, the parvise was no part of the original structure, it was used as a muniment room; at Cirencester as a Town Hall; in other places as sanctuary chambers, as lodgings for the monks who came to take service, as chapels, as guild halls, or as vestry rooms. It was difficult to fix the date of the lower portion of the tower, as the stones seemed to have been refaced, but the flat Norman pilasters showed that it was Norman. A very unusual feature were the Norman windows pierced through the pilasters to light the belfry. Inside the church attention was directed to the fine Dineley tombs and to the Saxon cross-head, carved with three griffins with knotted tails.

The Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Cropthorne, consists of a west tower, a nave with porch, and north and south aisles, and a chancel.

The battlemented tower is of three stages, and apparently was rebuilt in the fifteenth century on the site of an earlier one, as the lowest stage has three pilasters of Norman character, each pierced with a narrow window, deeply splayed within. The belfry windows have Perpendicular tracery and transoms. The hood-mouldings, which come down to the springing of the arches, are carried round the tower as a string course. The fourteenth-century porch had formerly a priest's chamber, as seen in a sketch given in Dineley's *History in Marble*. This chamber was probably entered by a staircase built in or against the south wall of the nave, as at Fladbury. The sill of the doorway still remains.

The nave arcades are Norman.

The aisles were probably rebuilt and enlarged in the fourteenth and the clerestory in the fifteenth century. The pointed arch leading into the tower at the west end has a chevron moulding, and seems to

date from the last quarter of the twelfth century. The Norman chancel arch has on the west side shafts and capitals with escalloped edges and inverted cone moulding below, the commonest form of early twelfth-century decoration.

The Early English chancel, rebuilt some fifteen years ago, superseded in the thirteenth century a Norman structure coeval with the nave. The priest's doorway in the south wall has been built up. There are remains of the rood-loft staircase in the south aisle of the nave, and an imperfect piscina, showing that there was an altar at the east end; at the west end is the original altar slab with the five consecration crosses. This should certainly be placed on or below the present communion table. In the same aisle, built into the east wall, is the head of a very beautiful cross, probably of pre-Norman date, as the carving is of purely Saxon feeling, representing on the western side three griffins with knotted tails, the edge having a key-pattern ornament.

In the north aisle, within a low-arched canopy of about A.D. 1318, is a twelfth-century priest's coffin-lid, incised with a cross, a chalice, and a hand in the act of blessing. At the east end of this aisle are two fine monuments of the Dineley or Dingley family, which I propose to reproduce from Nash's *Worcestershire*. On the earlier one are the recumbent figures of Francis Dingley, who died in 1624, and his wife Elizabeth, *née* Bigge. There are two shields above; one with twenty-four quarterings, in the first quarter *arg. a fesse and in chief a mullet sa. between two pellets*, for Dineley; and another bearing *Dineley* impaling *Bigge* with four quarterings.

On another monument are represented Francis Dingley, who died in 1626, and his wife Jocosa, *née* Sandys, kneeling on either side of a desk. Below them, as also on the other monument, are the kneeling figures of their children.

There is a churchyard cross of the usual fifteenth-century character, with square base, and an octagonal shaft broached into a square at the foot. The canopied and gabled head, as usual, is gone. No doubt, like the cross at Ampney Crucis, it had the Madonna and Child on one side and the Crucifixion on the other, with St. Michael and another angel or saint at the ends.

In 780 Offa, King of the Mercians, gave Cropthorne to the Prior and Church of Worcester, who held it in 1086; and the Dean and Chapter held it in 1779.

The hamlet of Charlton, was held for many centuries by a family of that name, by the de Hondeacres, and by their heirs the Dineleys. Sir Edward Dineley, who died in 1682, left a daughter and sole heiress, Eleanor, who married Sir Edward Goodyere. His two sons are well known to our Bristol members on account of the tragedy in 1741.

The elder, Sir John Dineley Goodyere, had quarrelled with his brother, Captain Samuel Dinelep, of the *Ruby*, man-of-war, and had threatened to disinherit him in favour of his nephew, John Foot, of Truro. Whereupon the Captain determined to murder him, and having seized him in a street near College Green, Bristol, hurried him on board his ship and had him strangled. The assassin and his accomplices were tried at the Bristol Assizes, and being found guilty, were hanged on April 15th, 1741. John Foot, who took the name of Dineley, succeeded his uncle, and sold Charlton to Joseph Biddle, of Evesham.

In Netherton, another hamlet of Cropthorne, there was a chapel, part of which is now used as a barn, and Cropthorne still contains many charming half-timber houses.

At Fladbury the party were received (in the absence of the rector) by the Rev. J. L. Davids and the Rev. A. G. Pettigrew (curate). At Fladbury, as at Cropthorne, the parvise has been removed from over the porch, and there are similar Norman pilasters to the lower stage of the tower pierced with windows. Professor Oman expressed regret at the fact that the plaster had been stripped from the walls, leaving bare stonework which was intended to be covered. The most important feature of the church, was the altar tomb of John Throckmorton, Sub-Treasurer of England under Henry VI, which was a most faithful example of a fifteenth-century tomb. Almost equally interesting was the monument of Bishop Lloyd, one of the seven bishops imprisoned in the Tower by James II. This monument has been taken to pieces, part being in the chancel and part in the vestry. Professor Oman expressed the hope that some day it might be put together again. Attention was directed to the old armorial glass, the hooded windows, and the aisles of the mediæval tiles.

The Church of St. John Baptist, Fladbury, which was the mother church of four chapelries, Wyre, Throckmorton, Habe Lench, and Stock, consists of a west tower, a nave with south porch and north and south aisles, and a chancel with new vestry and organ chamber. The fourteenth century tower has been considerably altered within the last two centuries, a wooden spire having been removed and the walls raised on all sides. As at Cropthorne, there are Norman pilasters on three sides of the lowest stage, with narrow lights, widely splayed within, proving the existence of a twelfth-century tower on the same site. It is possible that this stage, as at Cropthorne, is part of the original Norman work.

The porch has a groined stone vaulting. There was a chamber above, which has been removed, the doorway leading to the staircase being in the inner south wall of the south aisle. The windows of the

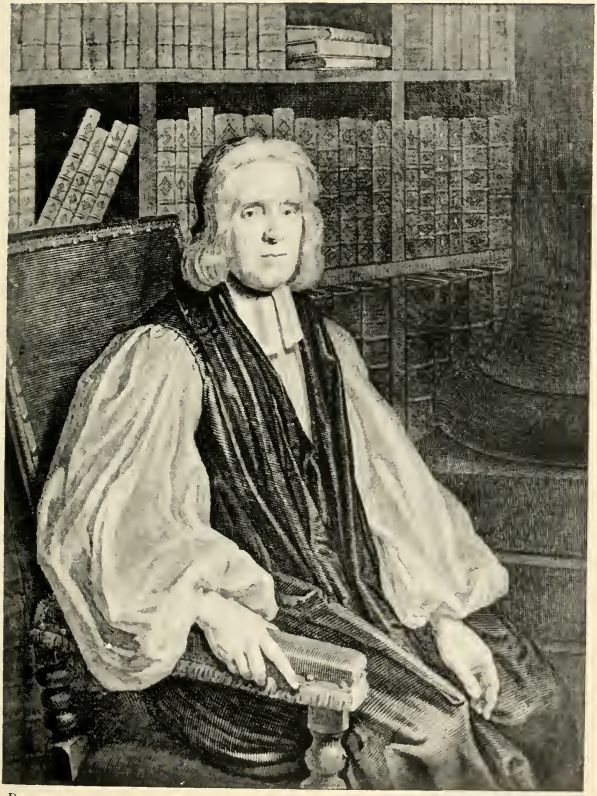
nave are of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century style. The north doorway has been built up, and contains some good mediæval tiles.

In the north-west window of the chancel there is some fine fifteenth-century glass with the arms of Despencer, Mortimer, Botiler, Simon de Montfort, etc. There are effigial brasses of two rectors of Fladbury: Thomas Morden, Treasurer of St. Paul's, London, who died in 1458, and William Plewme, who died in 1504. There is also a fine altar tomb with the brasses of John Throckmorton, his wife Eleanor, and their son Thomas, erected in 1445. He was Sub-Treasurer of England under Henry VI. For some unknown reason this monument has been removed from the middle of the church to the tower. The monument of Bishop Lloyd has also been sadly tampered with, the bust only of the Bishop remaining on the north wall of the sanctuary, whilst the inscribed tablet has been banished to the vestry. William Lloyd was one of the seven bishops committed to the Tower of London by James II, tried at Westminster, and acquitted to the joy of the whole nation. He was Dean of Bangor in 1673, Bishop of St. Asaph in 1672, and Bishop of Worcester from 1699 to 1717. His son being Rector of Fladbury, the Bishop selected this church for his last resting-place. It seems to be a great pity that the plaster should have been removed from the walls, which are built of rubble. It was altogether contrary to the intention of the original builders that the church should have such a vault-like appearance; and the effect is very depressing from every point of view, except perhaps from that of the antiquary, who may be curious as to what was hidden beneath the plaster. We may trust that the plaster will be replaced some day, and painted.

King Ethelred gave Fladbury to Oftfor, Bishop of Worcester, in 691, and a monastery was founded here. Bishop Tilhere, who died in 781, confirmed the gift of the convent of Flaedanburg from Aldred to his kinswoman Ethelburg for her life-time. Coenwulf, King of the Mercians, gave the land of thirty tributaries at Fladanburg to the Bishop and the Church of Worcester *c.* 810. Fladbury was in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester in the seventeenth century, and they leased it to the Earl of Plymouth. His descendants sold it to George Perrott, who died in 1780.

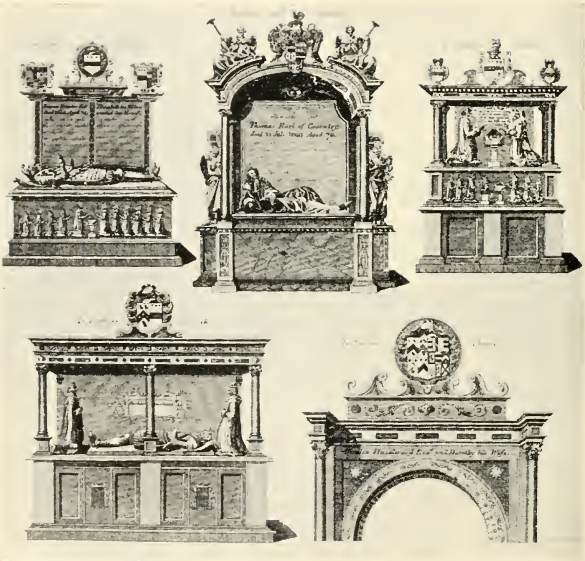
Nash, in his *History of Worcestershire*, gives an interesting account of William Sandys, of Fladbury, who made the Avon navigable for large vessels from Tewkesbury to Stratford in 1635, at a cost of £20,000. It is to be regretted that his excellent work has not been maintained in the condition in which he left it.

A move was next made to Wyre, which many of the party thought the most interesting building they had yet seen on their present summer excursion. Externally the building looks almost new except for the



Page 42.

WILLIAM LLOYD, BISHOP OF WORCESTER, A.D. 1714.



Page 43.

MONUMENTS AT CROPTHORN, ELMLEY CASTLE AND PERSHORE.

double campanile, but inside there is a diminutive semicircular chancel arch with hood moulding dating back to the Saxon period, with two hagioscopes. It was mentioned that Saxon and Norman churches were all on one level, and that it was a mistake in restoration work to place a step into the chancel, as had been done at Wyre and other places. Canon Bazeley also said that in many Norman churches there was no east window. On the east wall was often a fresco, and there were windows on either side to light it and the altar. He knew eight or nine cases in Gloucestershire where this arrangement had been destroyed by the insertion of an east window. When the church was extended westward recently a Danish or Saxon barrow was cut through in which were found two skeletons, one standing erect, and the other in a sitting position. Near them were found corses of shields (now preserved in a cupboard in the church). Canon Bazeley suggested that perhaps one of the skeletons was that of a Saxon chieftain, and the other that of his armour-bearer, who was slain at the funeral of the chief and buried with him.

The chapel of Wyre, the dedication of which is unknown, is said to stand on an ancient burial mound. In confirmation of this tradition, when the chapel was lengthened twelve feet westward, two skeletons were found, one standing erect and the other in a sitting position, both facing north-east. Close to them were the bosses of two shields and two knives. Thomas Wright in his *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, gives an illustration of a similar boss on page 471, fig. 1; and on page 475 he describes a Saxon shield as of wood, sometimes covered with leather, having an iron boss in the centre, riveted to the wood.

The village cross is only a copy of the original, figured in Knight's *Old England*. It was removed in 1844 to some grounds near Pershore Abbey.

The exterior of the chapel is deceptive, for it has been so thoroughly restored as to look quite new; but within it is full of interest. The sacred building consists of a nave with a porch and a double campanile or bell tower on its east gable, and a chancel.

The roof is new, though some of the ancient roof-timbers were inserted in it when it was restored. The north wall of the nave is as old as the thirteenth century, the south wall is later. The font is Norman with chevron moulding. There is some interesting fifteenth-century stained glass in the Perpendicular west window, representing a Madonna and Child, and below them the symbol of St. John the Evangelist, a sacramental cup from which a dragon or wyvern is seen to issue. This refers to a story, told by St. Isidore, that an attempt was made to poison the apostle by placing poison in the chalice, but that St. John and his fellow-communicants drank the consecrated wine without hurt,

the poison having come out in the form of a monster, whilst the would-be assassin fell dead at their feet.

The chancel arch has been declared by Parker and Bloxham to be Saxon. It is very diminutive, with a semicircular arch, having a square abacus, chamfered below, similar to the arches at St. Alban's. It has a hood over it, but not any of the long and short work often found in Saxon architecture. On either side of the arch are hagioscopes, or squints, which have been inserted in the east wall of the nave to enable the worshippers to see the priest at the altar. There are many interesting relics in a cupboard to the west of the south door : a roughly-carved capital with acanthus leaves and a cable moulding, perhaps Saxon ; a monstrance or candle-stick ; the head of some monster with a fine row of teeth ; the bosses referred to above ; and some good fifteenth-century floor-tiles, with the Talbot arms, a Popinjay, etc. The door leading to the rood-loft has been built up. The campanile contains a bell with the date 1794, and the inscription, " Come away, make no delay," the same as on two of the bells at Matson, cast by the Rudhalls at Gloucester. A Norman pillar-piscina stands on the south side of the sanctuary, and a credence table has been formed by placing a slab on an Early English corbel. The stonework of the east window is partly new. Wall paintings were found on the west side of the chancel wall, but were destroyed by the restorers. There was a chantry in this chapel, founded by Thomas Throckmorton, of the yearly value of £9 3*s*. 4*d*.

Wyre was a lordship of the Earls of Warwick, inherited by them from the Despencers. Henry VIII gave a lease of it to John Russel ; it was sold later on to the Foliots, and by them to William Courteen. It is now broken up into many holdings.

The drive was then continued to Pershore, where the abbey was a sister foundation to the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester.

Two Northumbrian princes, brothers of our first abbess, Kyneburg, and connected with the royal house of Mercia, had lands given them by King Ethelred for the foundation and endowment of religious houses in the Severn Vale. Osric founded Gloucester in 681, Oswald founded Pershore in 689.

Both monasteries in later Saxon times were occupied by Secular Canons, and both, before the Norman Conquest, were handed over to Benedictine monks, Pershore under King Edgar in 969, Foldbriht being the first abbot, and Gloucester under Cnut in 1022.

As time went on the abbots of both received their mitres and had seats in Parliament ; but at the Dissolution their fates were different. Gloucster became the seat of a bishopric, and its monastic church was preserved for posterity in all its integrity ; the conventual buildings

Page 45.

ABBEY CHURCH, PERSHORE.

of Pershore were ordered to be destroyed by the King's Commissioners, but the inhabitants bought the church for their own use. As, however, they lacked the funds for keeping it intact, the nave and the chapel of St. Eadburgh were taken down as being superfluous; the north transept became ruinous, and fell with a mighty crash in the seventeenth century.

The lady chapel in 1846 appeared capable of restoration, and funds were forthcoming for the purpose; but we owe it to one of the most celebrated bishops of our time that the work was not carried out. Samuel Wilberforce, who was then Dean of Westminster, and as such one of the patrons of the church, was invited to visit Pershore and give his opinion as to its restoration. In an unhappy moment he recommended that an apse should be constructed and the rest of the lady chapel removed.

The Church of the Holy Cross, Pershore, at the present time consists of a nave, which was originally the choir and presbytery of the abbey church, a comparatively modern apse, a south transept, and a beautiful lantern tower, which once formed the central architectural feature of a cruciform church.

In 1862, when the Archæological Institute visited Pershore, Mr. E. A. Freeman spoke at some length on the church. The gist of his remarks is given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 377, 378. In vol. xx, pp. 158–71, there is a paper by Mr. Bloxam on the effigy of a cross-legged knight with a horn.

After the visit of this Society to Pershore, in 1885, Sir John Maclean collected some excellent notes on the church, which he printed in our *Transactions*, vol. x, pp. 230–37. Opposite page 237 are illustrations of the cross-legged effigy and the Newton carving.

The nave and transepts were Early Norman, and corresponded closely with the naves and transepts of Gloucester and Tewkesbury. The Norman choir was destroyed by fire in 1253, and was rebuilt in the later Early English style which prevailed towards the close of Henry III's reign. The piers have clustered shafts and round caps. There is no distinct triforium; Mr. Freeman says it was thrown into the clerestory.

The vaulting of the roof was constructed at the end of the thirteenth century, and was made to harmonise with the earlier work. The Chapel of St. Eadburgh, destroyed at the Dissolution, belonged to this date, and also the upper stages of the tower.

The church was restored under the superintendence of Mr. Gilbert Scott, afterwards Sir Gilbert Scott, in 1865.

Two interesting monuments remain—the effigies of a knight and an abbot. The knight wears mail armour with hooded hauberk and

sleeveless surcoat. His heater-shaped shield is supported by a guige or strap which passes over the right shoulder. His sword is on the left side, and his right hand, which is uncovered, grasps a horn.

We are reminded at once of the tomb of John Wyrral, at Newland, in the Forest of Dean; but the knight is not a forester or chief ranger. He holds his land by tenure of cornage, *i.e.* of blowing a horn on the approach of his lord's foes. The date of the effigy is probably about the same as that of Robert, Duke of Normandy's effigy in Gloucester Cathedral, the latter part of Henry III's reign or the middle of the thirteenth century.

The ecclesiastical effigy is supposed to represent Abbot Edmund Hart or William Compton. Above this effigy is some excellent oak carving with an inscription, commemorating Abbot Newton.

Lunch was partaken of at the "Three Tuns," after which St. Andrew's and Holy Cross Churches were inspected. The former presented one or two problems which the Society were unable to solve instantly. There is a Norman nave and a Transitional Norman north aisle, but probably no south aisle of the same period. In the time of Henry IV a south aisle and west tower were built. On the tower arch there are mouldings which do not belong to the tower arch; they exactly match with the width of the chancel (which is out of centre with the nave). The arcade at the south side of the nave appears to have been inserted at the end of the fifteenth century, and then within fifty years it was taken down, the width of the nave was reduced and a new arcade inserted—why, nobody seemed to know. It was suggested that possibly the earlier arcade was weakened by the cutting of the stairway to the rood-loft, and also that possibly two congregations worshipped in the church. A third suggestion was that there was a chantry chapel at the east end of what is now the south aisle, and that the south aisle was built wider to match it. In this church, as in Fladbury, all the plaster has been dragged from the walls.

At Pershore Abbey Mr. F. B. Andrews, A.R.I.B.A., was in attendance as well as the Rev. F. R. Lawson. Mr. Andrews has made a special study of the abbey, and was able to give the Society a most interesting account of the building. By means of plans, he showed that the original dimensions of the church were almost equal to those of Tewkesbury Abbey; and the nave was similar in design, treatment, and date to Tewkesbury. Mr. Andrews also explained the position of the various conventual buildings. The date of the church went back to 689, and the structure passed through many vicissitudes, several times suffering from fire. Attention was directed to the fact that the semicircular arches of the crossing were reinforced by a pointed arch over the semicircular arch, and Mr. Andrews suggested that from bitter experience

of past failures the Norman architects devised this means of securing increased strength. They found that the round arch was very prone to fail at the crown, and they thought it was wise to lift it; here was an interesting example of the two together. The Early English choir of the abbey (the nave of the present church), which is a magnificent specimen of the style, was duly admired; and the graceful effect obtained by merging the triforium and the clere story was noted. Mr. Andrews described the magnificent lantern tower as almost unique; he believed there was no other lantern of such richness and beauty in a comparatively small town like Pershore. It dated from the first half of the fourteenth century, and there was no doubt it was the work of the architect who designed the beautiful lantern at Salisbury, with which it possessed some striking resemblances. Regret was expressed that the interesting Norman font was still in private hands. Mr. Andrews said that when he last saw it it was serving as a garden vase, and was bright with geraniums. The Rev. F. R. Lawson said it was not now in the garden, it was inside the house.

From Pershore the party drove to Elmley Castle, and Canon Bazeley commented on the fact that the church appeared to have consisted originally of a Norman nave and chancel, and that when it was thought well to enlarge it, instead of erecting piers, the arcades seemed to have been cut out of the existing wall; this seemed especially apparent on the south side. The font was especially interesting. The lower part was ancient, and belonged to the Norman church; the upper part had some interesting sculpture on it, which bore external evidence that it was provided in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The fine tombs in the church aroused a great deal of admiration.

Elmley Castle was built by Robert d'Abitot, steward of William the Conqueror, on a spot of Bredon Hill about a mile from the building which now bears the name.

On the death of Robert d'Abitot it passed to his brother, Urso d'Abitot, Sheriff of Worcestershire.

Emmeline, daughter and heiress of Urso, married Walter Beauchamp, and by bringing her paternal possessions into this family, laid the foundation of its wealth and power. When their castle at Worcester fell into decay, Elmley rose in importance and became their chief seat.

At the battle of Evesham, 1265, four sons of the then Lord Beauchamp of Elmley fought on the side of Prince Edward, and to the eldest, William, was given the Earldom of Warwick as a reward for his loyal help. His descendants held it till the reign of Henry VII. The Shrievalty of Worcestershire was attached to the possession of Elmley till the death of the King-maker, Richard Nevil, in 1471.

The story of the Beauchamps and Nevilles, Earls of Warwick, and

of the sorrows of Isabella and Anne, daughters of Earl Richard, are too well known to need repetition.

On the attainder of the King-maker, Elmley Castle fell into the hands of the king, and Anne, Countess of Warwick, executed a confirmation of it to Henry VII in 1487. It was governed by stewards from 1471 to 1545: by Sir R. Nanfan, 1485; Sir John Savage till 1517; Sir W. Compton till 1528; W. Walsh till 1538; and Uriah Brereton.

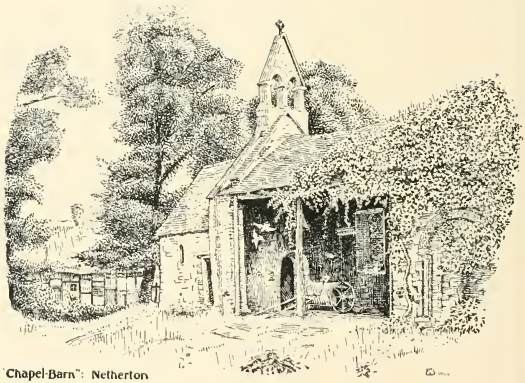
In 1545 Henry VIII sold Elmley Castle to Christopher Savage, son of Sir Christopher of Aston-sub-Edge, and esquire of the body of the king. He was descended from the Cheshire family from which sprang the Viscounts Savage and Earls Rivers.

The Savages continued at Elmley, frequently filling the office of sheriff, till 1742, when Thomas Savage, who had married Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Coventry, died without male issue, and left his estate to his daughters and co-heiresses. Elmley came to Thomas Byrch, son of the eldest daughter, and he took the name of Savage. On his death, in 1776, the bulk of his property passed to his nephew, Robert Clavering, but Elmley Castle was left to his widow, who sold it to Mr. Bourne Charlett, and it came ultimately to General Davies, the present owner.

The body of the church, which consists of a nave with porch and two aisles and chancel, appears to have been rebuilt early in the fifteenth century, partly from the materials of an earlier church and also of the castle, as there are fragments of Norman sculpture worked into the walls in many places, and there is herring-bone work on either side of the chancel.

The tower at the west end of the nave is older, having a deeply-set window of the twelfth century.

The south arcade of the nave has apparently been constructed out of the wall of an earlier church, as two of the arches are supported by blocks of masonry instead of by shafts and capitals. From the style of the four shafts, three on the north and one on the south, I should take the date of the rebuilding to be *c.* 1480. This is supported by the presence of Edward IV's badge, the *rose-en-soleil*, in one of the windows of the south aisle. The windows of the church are for the most part late Perpendicular. The font is especially interesting. Carved in bold relief on the vase are four serpents, whilst on the octagonal bowl are the following emblems and badges: (1) The sacred heart between two hands and two feet with the stigmata on all five; (2) a double Tudor rose; (3) two plumes, Arthur, Prince of Wales; (4) a portcullis; (5) a trefoil stripped and budded; (6) a pale fusily, Savage; (7) stock of a tree with branch and sprigs; (8) the ragged staff of the Warwicks. The bowl is probably much more modern than the base, as the devices



By the kindness of Messrs. W. H. Smith.

CHAPEL-BARN, NETHERTON.

are about A.D. 1490; but as these are so flat in execution, it is possible that they superseded earlier carvings. They were probably executed by order of Sir John Savage, steward for the Crown, *c.* 1490 to 1517.

There are two curious aumbries or cupboards, one on the south side of the chancel, and another on the east wall of the north aisle.

The Savage monument in the south chapel is very fine. There are effigies of Egidius Savage, his father, William Savage, his wife and son.

There is another monument in memory of Thomas, Earl of Coventry, who died in 1699, aged 70.

In the churchyard is a sundial bearing the arms of Savage with many quarterings.

After tea at the Queen's Head Hotel the party drove to the desecrated chapel at Netherton, which they inspected, and subsequently they returned to their head-quarters at Evesham.

Netherton Chapel consists of a small nave and chancel, built in the latter half of the twelfth century, when the style of architecture we call Transitional Norman had been evolved. There are deeply-splayed windows, one being splayed on both sides, which is unusual. A doorway with a round-headed arch and zigzag moulding remains on the north side, and another on the south side with a tympanum on which is carved a dragon. Above the chancel-arch is a bell turret with two semicircular headed arches supported by shafts with cushion-shaped caps, covered by a gable roof, and surmounted by a cross. A piece of the north wall, large enough to admit a cart, has been removed, thus weakening the whole structure, and the dividing wall between the nave and chancel is in a ruinous condition. A fire-place shows that the chapel was once used as a dwelling. This chapel was attached to Cropthorne, of which the Prior and Convent of Worcester were the patrons. It is stated in some ancient document that the chapel was in a state of disrepair as early as the reign of Edward I, but it must have been restored later on. It is much to be desired that the visit of our Society to Netherton may lead to the repair, and if possible the restoration to its ancient sacred use, of this sadly desecrated sanctuary. We are indebted for information relating to this chapel, and to other churches of this district to the *Reports of the Worcester Architectural Society*, 1897 and 1898.

On Wednesday evening the Mayor and Mayoress were "At Home" at the Public Hall to meet members of the Society. Among those invited, in addition to the members, were Mr. and Mrs. Rudge, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Martin, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey New, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Smith, Mr. and Mrs. I. Morris, the Rev. H. and Mrs. Clifford, Mr. and Mrs. C. Burlingham, Mr. J. Bracher, the Rev. H. A. Holmes, the Rev. C. W. Whitacre, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. Cox, Mr. and Mrs. G. K. Bell, Mr. and Mrs. G. Hughes, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. Cox, Mr. and Mrs. F.

L. Leslie, Mr. and Mrs. N. G. Harry, General Davies, Mr. and Mrs. J. Sladden, Mr. H. Maund, etc.

During the course of the evening Professor OMAN (the President of the Society) gave a most interesting address on Simon de Montfort as warrior. He said that Simon had all the virtues of his father without his ferocity and self-seeking, and though it could not be said he was destitute of ambition, he was not ambitious for himself; he was the most merciful, the most self-restrained, and the least selfish of all victors. The one point on which his reputation suffered was that he did not deal with his sons, who were unworthy of him, with the severity they deserved. Speaking of his military experiences, Professor Oman alluded to his service in the Crusades, and to his suppression of the numerous risings of the turbulent Gascon nobility, but pointed out that the campaigns of Lewes and Evesham were very different matters; they were a step forward in the art of war. Previous campaigns were sporadic and ill-conducted; in the two campaigns mentioned, instead of chance medley, there was plans and meaning. In the Lewes campaign the movements of the king were conducted with the characteristic inconsequence and incoherence of mediæval warfare. Instead of striking at once at London, the seat of Simon's power, the king marched hither and thither in an aimless sort of manner. Simon's movements, on the other hand, were coherent, logical, and precise. Although in inferior strength, he struck straight at the king himself, and forced him to fight at a disadvantage. After giving a graphic description of the Battle of Lewes, the speaker directed attention to the fact that the victors granted quarter to their defeated foes; whereas at Evesham, where the Royalists were victorious, no quarter whatever was granted to the vanquished. In conclusion, he said that though a prosecuting counsel might make out a strong case against Simon de Montfort, the jury ought to give him the benefit of the doubt, find him not guilty of self-seeking, and discharge him as a genuine patriot.

On the proposition of the MAYOR, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded Professor Oman for his most interesting address.

Professor OMAN replied, and on behalf of the Society thanked the Mayor and Corporation, and the burgesses of Evesham, for the glorious way in which they had received the Society, who, though they had strayed over the county border, had not been treated as trespassers, but as bosom friends.

Before the proceedings terminated the PRESIDENT referred in eulogistic terms to the very great assistance which had been rendered to the Society by Mr. E. A. B. Barnard.

Canon BAZELEY endorsed this expression of the indebtedness of the Society to Mr. Barnard. He said that when a visit to Evesham was

first contemplated, it was suggested that its success was assured if the services of Mr. Barnard could be secured as Local Honorary Secretary. He was glad to say that that expectation had been amply fulfilled.

Mr. BARNARD, in reply, expressed his pleasure at doing what he had done to add to the success of the Society's visit to Evesham.

On Thursday morning the party drove to Hinton-on-the-Green, where, in the absence of the rector, they were received by Mrs. Baker. Professor Oman read some historical notes on the parish and the church provided by the Rev. C. A. Baker. The most important feature in the church is an alabaster slab with an incised portrait of Abbot Halford, Abbot of Bordesley, who died in 1317. The steps leading to the rood-loft are in better preservation than usual. There are no old tombstones in the churchyard, a former rector having had them removed to form a village pathway; this rector also ploughed up the churchyard, and cultivated it with flax. The curious gateway to the manor house is said to be built of remains from the church. The font has disappeared; when last heard of it was filled with geraniums on the manor house lawn.

The Church of St. Peter, Hinton-on-the-Green, was visited by Sir Stephen R. Glynn on September 14th, 1859, and was thus described by him.

"A small church, Late Perpendicular, in parts quite debased. It has a nave and chancel without architectural division, south porch, and a western tower. The tower is built of very good stone, embattled, with four plain pinnacles, two string courses, belfry window of two lights, with hood moulding on corbels. The west window has a similar hood moulding, but debased tracery of three lights. There is no west door; under the battlement rather good gurgoyles.

"The tower rich, pointed, continuous, and open.

"The windows are of two or three lights without foils, of debased character. The body is embattled, and there are pinnacles at the east end. The roof is of flat pitch and has spandrels. The interior is pewed. There is an incised slab with a cross in the sacrarium. The churchyard is large, and has but few graves. To the south-west of the church is a pretty Elizabethan house."

We learn from Thomas's *Survey of Worcester* that the church was rebuilt at the charge of the Abbey of Gloucester about the year 1315. The slab mentioned by Sir S. Glynn is probably the one which was found about the middle of the eighteenth century, bearing the inscription, *Hic sepelitur corpus D'ni Will'mi Halfordiæ, quondam Abbatis de Bordesleya qui felibiter obitt xii. die Sept'bris Anno D'ni millesimo cccxvii.*

Tanner says that William Hayford was Abbot of Bordesley, in Worcestershire, from 1293 to 1317. Bigland mentions another flat-

stone in the church, inscribed *Hic Jacet Thomas Wykkye, quondam firmarius cujus anime . . . qui obiit 24 Octobris A.D. 1480. et Joanna uxoris, quon . . . .*

Chancellor Parsons, who wrote late in the seventeenth century, says that near the church was a very fair stone house belonging to the Bakers, but burnt down in the civil wars lest it should prove a garrison for the Parliament. Bigland, who wrote in 1786, gives a view of the church with a fine house on the south side of it. This is the house which Sir Stephen Glynn calls Elizabethan, but it appears to be of the style known as Queen Anne.

In the year 981 Elfleda, sister of King Ethelred, gave the Manor of Hynetun to St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester ; and it is described in the Domesday Survey under *terra S. Petri de Gloucest'* as containing fifteen hides. The abbey held the manor and the advowson till the Dissolution, when both appear to have been sold by Henry VIII. The manor was bought by Sir Edward Worth, and later on by Thomas Berners, whose daughter carried it in marriage to Thomas Baker. It was held subsequently by Sir John Hamer, Sir Robert Jason, Joseph Swayne, James Stephens, and in 1792 by William Baker.

It is stated that for many years in former times the old manor house was always left untenanted on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day, in order to leave room for the ghost of a former squire, who, among other iniquities, had been guilty of playing cards on the altar on Christmas Eve.

At Great Washbourne the party were received by the Rev. C. R. Covey. They were very much interested in this quaint church, which is very Early Norman, so early that it may be pre-Norman. There is a very early tympanum over the south door, some early deeply-splayed windows, and a very narrow chancel arch, semicircular, and quite plain ; although it may be Early Norman, it may be earlier. The walls of the church are probably Norman. Early English windows were inserted perhaps in the century after the church was built. In the fifteenth century the west window was inserted, and in 1642 Carolean windows were put in on either side of the east window

The little Church of St. Mary, Great Washbourne, is thus described by Sir Stephen Glynn : " A small church, having only nave and chancel, and over the two latter a mean wooden belfry. There is a Norman arch over the south door, of which the tympanum has courses of circles filled with stars, and one in the centre filled by a Maltese cross and knobs with four spaces. The chancel arch is also Norman, very small and narrow, surrounded by much wall, very plain, on impost mouldings. On each side of it is a lychnoscopic opening of square form, the southern having trefoiled arch panelling. The nave has on the south a trefoil-headed

single window; on the north is a Perpendicular one of three lights. The west window is a large Late Perpendicular one of four lights with two transoms, and below the lower transom only two divisions. The west door is Late Perpendicular. The chancel has a Perpendicular east window of three lights; at the north-east is a single labelled window of debased character. At the south-west is a single Early English light with trefoil head, and a labelled Perpendicular window at the south-east. The font has an octagonal bowl on a similar stem."

"Waseborne" belonged to the Church of Tewkesbury in 1066, and continued to do so till the Dissolution, when it was granted to Anne, widow of Sir Adrian Fortescue. It remained for some generations in the Fortescue family; then it passed to a Mr. Starkey. Lord Craven held it in 1779. Anthony à Wood says that John Cartwright, a great traveller into Judea, Persia, etc., in 1611, was of this parish. He was probably a descendant of William Cartwright who held a lease of the manor under Tewkesbury Abbey in the time of Henry VIII.

Lunch was served at the Beckford Hotel, after which the very interesting monastic church of St. Barbara at Beckford was inspected. The sculptured tympana over the two Norman doorways aroused much interest and conjecture as to their interpretation.

The Church of St. Barbara, Beckford, was visited by Sir Stephen Glynn on March 25th, 1854, and the following contains the purport of his remarks with some additions. The church consists of a nave with a fine Perpendicular porch but no aisles, a chancel and central tower.

There are Norman doorways on either side of the nave, in each of which there is a sculptured tympanum. These are especially interesting, as the subjects are doubtful and their interpretation conjectural. On the south side we have a cross with a bird on one shaft, and what appears to be an eye on the other. On each side is a beast apparently worshipping the cross. Over the north doorway, which is walled up, is depicted our Lord's descent into Hades, or possibly the triumph of the cross over Satan. This latter tympanum has been shamefully defaced by some religious or irreligious maniac. There are Norman windows on the north and south side of the nave. There is an Early Decorated window on the south, and one with two lancet lights and a quatrefoil above on the north. The west window, of five lights, is Perpendicular, and there is another of the same date and style on the south side. In the chancel there are double and single lancets on the north side, and two double lancets and a two-light Perpendicular window on the south. The last Sir S. Glynn says is "lychnoscopic." The east window has three lancet lights with two circles above, under a pointed arch.

The tower is early in its two lower stages, and has large buttresses. The belfry is later and somewhat debased, having a battlement and four

pinnacles. The tower arches appear to be of Early English date. There is a fine Elizabethan mansion on the north side of the church.

In the nineteenth volume of the *Transactions* of this Society there is a paper on Beckford, by the late Rev. J. Melland Hall, of which I propose to make a brief summary.

Beckford was one of the early Christian monastic settlements in Gloucestershire in the eighth century, for *monasteria* at Celtanhom (Cheltenham) and Beccanford (Beckford) are mentioned A.D. 803, in a dispute between Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, and Wulfheard, Bishop of Hereford, at the Council of Cloveshoe. These monasteries evidently existed in 775; we know not how much earlier, or by whom they were founded. The Domesday Record states that Rotlesc, the King's housecarl, held Beceforde and Turbertus Estone (Ashton-under-Hill) in the time of the Confessor. After the Norman Conquest Earl William Fitz Osbern obtained these two vills and made one manor of them. He gave the two churches of Beckford and Ashton, together with some land, to the Abbey of Cormeilles. On the attainder of Earl William's son, the joint Manor of Beckford and Estone was probably granted to the Tankervilles, for in the reign of Henry I one of them gave it to the Abbey of St. Martin and St. Barbara in Normandy, founded 1128. This grant was confirmed by Henry II. The *Testa de Neville* states that the Priory of Beckford holds 30 l. of land, the gift of King Henry the elder. A charter of Henry III confirmed to God and St. Mary de Cormeilles the Churches of Beckford and Ashton. In the reign of Edward III Parliament granted to the king the estates of all priories that were cells to monasteries in France, and the Manor and Priory of Beckford were leased for life to Sir John Cheyney. They passed later on to Thomas Rous, as husband of Anna Cheyney, and then to Sir John Beauchamp .The priory was totally suppressed in 1414, together with other alien priories, and the manor was conferred on Eton College. Edward IV annulled the grant to Eton, and gave Beckford to Fotheringhay College.

After the Dissolution the manor and advowson of Beckford were granted to Sir Richard Lee. In the time of Queen Elizabeth Edward Wakeman obtained both, and they continued in his family for many generations.

We have, then, at Beckford a monastic church of the greatest interest, apparently rebuilt in the twelfth century on the site of a Saxon church of the eighth century and altered in later times. Both the architecture and the history deserve the most careful examination and research.

Beckford appears among the king's lands in Domesday, having belonged in King Edward's time to Rotlesc, the housecarl. As Gloucestershire was one of the shires which helped King Harold at Hastings, we

may be sure that Rotlesc with his brother housecarl, Tovi Widenesci, of Barrington, lay where they had fought beneath the standard of their king.

From Beckford the party proceeded to Overbury, where the Church of St. Faith was examined. This consists of a Norman nave, and Early English chancel, Decorated aisles, Perpendicular tower and nineteenth-century porch. The font, which is extremely interesting, dates from Edward the Confessor's reign.

The following is a summary of the description given by the Vicar, the Rev. C. Glynn, when the Society visited Overbury in 1894.

The Church of St. Faith, Overbury, consists of a nave in the Norman style, a chancel in the Early English style, Decorated aisles, Perpendicular tower, and nineteenth-century porch. The old church, which was begun in the reign of Edward the Confessor, consisted of a nave, tower, transepts and apse. The next step was the addition of the south doorway, *c.* 1160; the outer doorway of that porch is now standing, and forms the inner doorway of the present porch. Then came an alteration, the apse was broken through, the Early English chancel was erected in 1220 as an extension of the old ground plan, and the consecration of the new portion took place. The date of one of the west windows is 1240, that of the aisles *c.* 1340, the tower 1386, the bell chamber 1450, the east window 1480. The west end, the south aisle, and the porch were rebuilt in 1850, and the church was restored in 1879–80. The font, which is extremely interesting, is as ancient as any part of the church, dating from Edward the Confessor. The bowl, which is the true old font, is divided into four panels: the first contains the figure of a priest in the officiating dress; the second, that of a bishop with a remarkable nimbus and two croziers; the third, a cross with the emblem of the dove; and the fourth, some beautiful scroll work. The bowl of the font has been fractured, possibly by the insertion of staples for a cover, a constitution having been issued in 1236 by Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, that every font should be covered and locked. There are five bells. The first bears the words, *Sancte Egidi, ora pro nobis*, and was cast by R^{t} Hendley, of Gloucester, 1450–1500. The second has an incomplete alphabet; it is a sixteenth-century bell, but post-Reformation. The third and fourth bear the words, *Come when I call—to serve God all*, and *Hallelujah*, with the date 1641, and were cast by Purdue, of Salisbury and Bristol. The fifth bears the inscription, *John Dance, Thomas Baldwing, Churchwardens, 1719, A.R.*, and was cast by Abraham Rudhall, of Gloucester.

The registers are very interesting. They date from the fourth year of Queen Mary, and one or two of the first entries are of names of persons still living in the parish.

In Domesday we read that the Church of Worcester held Overbury with Pendoc. In 875 Ceolwulph, King of the Mercians, gave the manor to the Church of Worcester. The patronage is still in the hands of the Dean and Chapter. The manor passed from the Dean and Chapter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In 1723 Mr. John Martin, in succession to Mr. Parsons and others, became tenant of the Dean and Chapter on a lease of three lives. In 1861, while one life was still running, Mr. Robert Martin purchased the property from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

A fuller account of this beautiful church will be found in the *Transactions*, vol. xix, pp. 41–60.

The beautiful gardens at Overbury Court have been most tastefully rearranged by Sir Richard Martin.

From Overbury the party drove to Ashchurch Station, where they took train for home, having enjoyed their three days' outing thoroughly. The weather was fine, the arrangements were excellent, and were thoroughly well carried out. Besides the debt of gratitude which we owe to our President and General Secretary, a very special word of thanks must be voted to our Worcestershire friends who received us so kindly, and provided so carefully for our welfare; and among them to Messrs. W. H. Smith, who have kindly allowed us to use some of the blocks from their excellent guide to Evesham and its neighbourhood.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT EVESHAM

By PROFESSOR C. W. C. OMAN, M.B.A.,
President of the Society.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I was indeed touched by your kindness when I received, some little time ago, a letter from my old friend, your late President, informing me that the Society had done me the great honour of electing me as his successor. Though quite a senior member of the Society—it is twenty-five years, I think, since I made my first excursion under its auspices—I fear that I have been rather an intermittent one, and conscience told me that the office which you have been good enough to bestow on me had been better earned by many another of our number. I can only express to you my sincere gratitude, and my firm intention to do my utmost to carry out my duties to the best of my ability. I should indeed be ungrateful if I did not, considering what I owe to the Society: how many pleasant summer tours through the Vale and the Forest and over Cotswold must be put down to its account; how much archæological knowledge its members have placed at the disposition of the inquirer. Turning one's memory back to the past years, one finds an unending series of fair memories—all the glories of Gloucestershire, all the antiquities of Bristo and of our cathedral city, Berkeley and Cirencester, Tewkesbury and Northleach, the splendid Roman villas of Woodchester and Chedworth, the suggestive fragments of Hailes, the mouldering camp of Dyrham, many a remote village church full of architectural problems and of monuments of forgotten families, many a gabled manor hidden in the folds of Costwold, the very knowledge of whose existence would hardly have reached one but for the energetic pioneering of our Society,

and which one could certainly not have seen without its organisation. All this pleasure and knowledge enjoyed and acquired I gratefully put down to the credit of our Association.

But most especially must I turn my gratitude in one direction. You have been good enough to elect me President in succession to the most valuable of all our members, the man who has been for twenty years the mainspring of our machine, the guide of all our journeys, the invaluable referee in all our archæological puzzles, the untiring organiser of all our practical activities. To those who have known Canon Bazeley so long as I have, and who have regarded him for so many years with such respect and affection, it is unnecessary to say more in his praise. But despite of the vote of thanks that has already been passed to him as President, I must add my own small tribute of admiration for the best of Secretaries and of Presidents. It is hard to succeed to the chair of such a notable benefactor of the Society; for what can I contribute to your knowledge or your instruction compared to such a master of all our local antiquities? I only wish that I could promise to follow worthily in his steps, but that is beyond me—I can only pledge myself to do my poor best.

Certainly, however, the surroundings in which we meet to-day are sufficiently inspiring. We are in a way trespassers, it is true, for we have once more passed across the frontier of our own county, as we did before when we visited Worcester and Bath, Malmesbury and Burford. But to say the truth, I have always personally felt trespassing to be rather an exhilarating occupation, and nothing surely could be more tempting than to step across our boundary into this lovely valley of the Avon. We shall, moreover, again and again in our movements of the next two days be able, like Antæus, to renew our vigour by a momentary touch with our mother earth of Gloucestershire; for in this region we are in among the most complicated set of county boundaries that exist anywhere in England. Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire are so chaotically intermixed hereabouts, that one is continually

passing across loose fragments of the one that seems least likely to meet us. I wonder whether we could not encourage some member who is learned in Domesday Book, and can give us the history of each manor back to the days of the Hwiccas, to read us a paper some day on this geographical problem. Why does the all-pervading Hundred of Kiftsgate extend its tentacles on every side, and encircle so many scraps of Worcestershire? Why are loose fragments like Blockley or Shenington dropped abroad in alien territory? Probably there are those present who could explain the problem with ease, and I surmise that I should not be the only person present who would be grateful to know the whys and the wherefores.

Is it too late to hope that some paper on these queer anomalies might be added to our agenda? I have an unsatisfied appetite for more information on our Gloucestershire Hundreds and their early history. Most of all, I may add, do I long to know something about the vanished Hwiccian County of Winchcombeshire, which must have embraced all the land hereabouts. It was, as I dare say that many of you know, apparently in existence in the ninth and tenth centuries,[1] and ended about 1010, when Eadric Streona, the wicked favourite of Æthelred the Redeless, among his many other lawless deeds, abolished it, apparently by throwing it into Gloucestershire.[2] But whether some part of it may not have fallen into Worcestershire also I should not care to say. The Gloucestershire Hundreds have shifted to a very appreciable extent since Domesday. When the map of their arrangement in 1086 is completed, shall we find any help in reconstructing the ancient boundary of Winchcombeshire?

This is all by way of parenthesis. I must not go farther on this line or I shall be trespassing on the realm of your President

[1] In Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* we have a document dealing with a transfer of lands between the Sees of Hereford and Worcester, in which the phrase "*into Wincelcumbescire*" occurs. It dates from 803.

[2] The note in Heming's *Cartulary*, 280, runs: "Provincias provinciis pro libito adjungebat, nam vice-comitatum de Wincelcumb, quæ per se tunc erat, vice-comitatui Glocestriæ adjunxit."

of 1906, Mr. Taylor, whose special domain is the history of the Hwiccas, and of the centuries that immediately follow them. I am always using his pamphlets when I deal with the ancient history of the lands of the Lower Severn, and can assure him that I have found them invaluable for lectures and book-writing alike.

May I suggest another line of enquiry which would be very valuable to some of us, the small clan of numismatists to which I belong. The Oxford Association has just collected a complete history of the coin-issues of its local mint, from Alfred to Henry III. The Saxon and early English mint of Gloucester had a history exactly parallel to that of the mint of Oxford, starting and ending about the same time. May we hope some day for a short illustrated history of our coinage and its annals? And if someone reminds me that Oxford had once, in its later history, a great outburst of mintage, during the Civil War of Charles I, cannot Gloucestershire say as much, since there was a lavish issue from the Royalist mint of Bristol during the years 1643–44–45. A very interesting find of half-crowns of Charles I was made on Cotswold only last year, and, as I looked through the 160 pieces, it was interesting to find that Bristol and Oxford were equally represented among them, while there was a mere sprinkling of the issues of Weymouth, Worcester, and York. I hope that some day a paper on this find may be laid before you; it would certainly be as appropriate in your *Proceedings* as in those of the Numismatic Society of London.

This summer our tour along the valley of the Avon will be almost entirely mediæval in its interest, the earlier history being only touched when we come once or twice upon a Saxon fragment in a church like Wyre, or relics such as the beautiful cross-head with the inter-twisted dragons at Cropthorne. Of the Roman remains which often attract such an important part of our attention, as, for example, during our recent Cirencester meeting, there is nothing to be seen this summer. A Roman road, one of the many "Icknields" which joins

our Foss Way, runs quite close to our circle of touring, but I do not think that we cross it—certainly we have nothing Roman to inspect. But I may remind you that quite close to Evesham, at Cleeve Prior, on the line of this road, only five miles away, was discovered the greatest hoard of Roman gold and silver coins ever found in England. Would that we knew what had become of them. But 1811 was a time in which scientific cataloguing of coins was rare, and those through whose hands the 100 gold and perhaps 600 silver coins of the Cleeve find went were sufficiently beginners in archæology to muddle Valerian with Valens, and to make no accurate count of the pieces, distributed among mints and emperors. When Canon Bazeley, the Local Secretary, and I visited Cleeve last week we found that traditions about this find were still rife in the village. The local tale was that a miser bought up the whole hoard and buried it again. But I fear that it is much more likely that they were taken up to London, and disposed of as mere gold and silver.[1] Copper hoards of much larger size have often, of course, been found in England, such as the vast but rusty mass in the shrine of Coventina, on the Northumbrian Wall; the interesting bulk of coins of the British usurpers Carausius and Allectus, found in Woolmer Forest, which was apparently part of Allectus' military chest; and (last but not least) the small brass of Constantine in literal thousands from the Forest of Dean, which our late member, Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, so laboriously and systematically catalogued. But gold and silver finds on a

[1] The mention of the Cleeve find made in this address set our energetic Local Secretary, Mr. Barnard, to work. He discovered a paper by the late Mr. R. Tomes, called "Contributions towards the Parochial History of Cleeve Prior," from which it appeared that the coins *were* secretly disposed of in small lots. Mr. Barnard's letter in the *Four Shires Journal* drew another from Mr. Heywood, a grandson of one of the two persons who were present at the actual ploughing up of the hoard. It results that the discoverers took the coins to a Mr. Bennett, then the principal resident in the village, who disposed of them, and gave to the finder money sufficient to buy a house and garden, and to start in business as a haulier—a sum of several hundred pounds.

large scale are very rare, and this Cleeve find was the largest ever made. The second largest was the forty-eight gold pieces found last year at Corbridge on the Roman wall: but this was less than half the gold record of Cleeve, while the Grove Hill hoard of silver was similarly only about half that of the Cleeve find in numbers.

Our archæological neighbours to east and west are very busy at Roman antiquities this year. Though I was not able to visit South Wales with some of you this spring, I have been reading the reports of the Cardiff Society, and note that something more is to be done at Caerleon. You will, many of you, remember a visit to Caerwent which we made more then ten years ago, when the excavations there began. But Caerleon is obviously going to be a much more important business, as can be seen from the notes on it that appeared lately in the papers. I trust that, when the diggings there are fully developed, we may perhaps be able to stray once again over our border in that direction. The other promising Roman site —to the east of us, not the west—which is just going to be systematically worked over is Verulamium, St. Albans. This, I fear, is too far from our beat for the Society to visit *en masse*. But the place was so important—it was the third town of the Roman south, only yielding to London and Camulodunum in size and wealth, and the site is such a virgin one as regards excavation, that we may expect almost anything to appear. Some of us must visit St. Albans this autumn in detail, since we cannot all go in company, and draw sidelights from it, in order to enable us to understand the better our own Corinium and Glevum.

One point more for your pondering. It is now nearly twenty years since the Society ventured so far from home as Oxford. I remember the visit well, since I was privileged to help Mr. Madan in doing the work of Local Secretary, and had the honour of supplying tea to the members in the sacred precincts of All Souls' Library. May I hope to welcome you once again to Oxford at no very distant date? There must

be scores of new members enrolled since the last visit, and alas! too few of the old ones who followed Canon Bazeley to the last. Oxford is still as rich as ever in things archæological, nay far richer, since we have added to our store the Fortnum mediæval antiquities—that rich medly of bronzes and majolica, glass and gems. We have this very year, too, acquired by Mr. A. J. Evans's munificent gift, his father's splendid collection of Saxon and other early metal work and jewellery; while his own Cretan collection is unrivalled save in Crete itself. While if you yearn for the pleasant drive no less than for the walk around closely-crowded architectural treasures, we have a fine selection of good village churches close in to the city—Yarnton, Cumnor, South Leigh (with its wonderful fifteenth-century frescoes), and Stanton-Harcourt (with its great family tombs), lying in a convenient circle within a lovely country-side. I will promise, having descended in due course from the presidential chair, to officiate in the more lowly part of Assistant Local Secretary once more, whenever you deign to direct your steps in our direction, and there are other members of the Society who will, I know, be equally willing to put their services at your disposal. It may not be next year, but let me implore that your visit may not be delayed much longer.

I have been warned by your Secretary to be short in my address. Your archæological work is all before you, and seeing with the eyes is far more important for the Society than hearing with the ears. So I will not ask your pardon for bringing my few remarks to a close by thanking you once more for the honour you have done me by placing me in the chair in which I sit and inviting you, as soon as the formulæ of our meeting are completed, to follow me to the site of the abbey, and to hear Mr. Walker explain to us the architecture of the two interesting parish churches, which lie so closely pressed in to the stretch of green sward that represents the vanished glory of the foundation of St Ecgwin.

THE CAMPAIGN OF EVESHAM, JUNE—AUGUST, 1265.

By PROFESSOR OMAN, M.B.A.,
President of the Society.

THE complicated campaign which had ended in the astounding victory of Lewes seemed to have settled the fate of England for many a year.

In May, 1265, the whole realm seemed to lie at the disposition of Simon de Montfort. Hardly any serious opposition by the Royalists survived. It is true that certain barons of the Welsh March, of whom Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, was the chief, were still in arms beyond the Severn; and a small band of loyal adherents of the captive King had been keeping up for many months a desperate resistance in the isolated Castle of Pevensey. The young Earl of Gloucester was known to be discontented with some of Earl Simon's more high-handed acts, and to bear a bitter grudge against his overweening sons. But it was not suspected that he would lightly betray the cause for which he had fought so well at Lewes.

About the middle of the month of May Simon started from Gloucester, to make an end of the insurgents in the Welsh March. He was accompanied by several of his most trusty adherents—his own eldest son, Henry, Despencer the Justiciar, John Fitz-John, Ralph Basset and Humphrey de Bohun, the son of the Earl of Hereford. He took with him King Henry and Prince Edward, who, though treated with respect, were never allowed to stir far from his side save under safe custody. It was at Hereford that Prince Edward escaped from his guardians by means of a simple stratagem and a swift horse (May 28th). He fled to Mortimer at Wigmore Castle, and a few days later was joined by the Earl of Gloucester, who formally avowed his breach with Montfort, did homage to

the Prince, and raised his banner. Not only the de Clare tenants in Glamorgan and Gwent, but all the smaller barons of the Welsh border at once took arms in the Royalist cause. So did Shropshire and Cheshire almost *en masse*.

Simon, still lying at Hereford, had now the choice before him whether he would march at once against the Prince and the Earl, whether he would continue the already-begun campaign against the Marchers, or whether he would promptly recross the Severn, and fall back towards his main sphere of influence in eastern and southern England, in order to pick up reinforcements. The armed force that he had with him was so trifling—not over 2,500 men—that the last-named course would have been the most prudent. But he chose the second alternative, underrating, as it would seem, the importance of De Clare's rising, and the influence of the Prince. But as a matter of precaution, he sent a detachment of 300 men-at-arms, under Robert de Ros, to hold Gloucester, the main passage over the Severn, whereby he intended to keep up his communication with London. He also sent off orders to the sheriffs of the south-western counties bidding them raise their levies, and he made the captive King set his seal to documents outlawing the Prince and de Clare.

Montfort seems to have tarried at Hereford till June 13th, a delay which gave his enemies time to draw together in dangerous strength. They seized Bridgnorth and Worcester, broke their bridges, destroyed or removed all the boats on the middle Severn, and spoilt the fords in its course by dredging them deeper. Then on June 13th and 14th they passed down the river bank to Gloucester, and laid siege to it. The town fell almost at once, but de Ros held out faithfully in the castle for fifteen days, in spite of the fact that he had been caught almost destitute of provisions. On hearing of this move, Earl Simon ought to have hastened to relieve Gloucester Castle, and make sure of Gloucester Bridge, without a moment's delay. But he failed to do so. He had departed westward on June 10th to confer with Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, the

bitter enemy of the royalist marcher lords, and was deep in negotiation with him. After long haggling, the Welsh Prince was bought for Montfort's service by a grant of many lands and castles, including some to which his title was more than doubtful. The Treaty of Pyperton disgusted many of Simon's best friends, for to league with the national enemy in time of civil war did not please true patriots. But at least the ardent support of the ambitious Llewellyn was bought. He placed a contingent of several thousand light infantry at the Earl's disposal, and these Welsh spearmen formed the larger part of Simon's fighting force during the rest of the campaign. The treaty was signed on June 19th; on the 22nd the King was made to confirm it with his seal at Hereford. Simon then marched to Monmouth, apparently desiring to place himself between the main body of the rebels, encamped before Gloucester, and the large body of de Clare's tenants who were in arms in Gwent and Glamorgan. At the same time, he would be in a good position for an advance to relieve the garrison of Gloucester Castle, whose full danger he does not seem to have realised. If he had understood it, he would have marched without a moment's delay to its aid.

Simon wasted a short time in capturing the strong castle of Monmouth, one of the chief strongholds of de Clare. But when he next prepared to march eastward towards Gloucester, he found the line of the Wye held by a strong detachment, headed by John Giffard, which Prince Edward had sent out from his camp at Gloucester to act as a "covering force" for the besiegers of Gloucester Castle. Giffard had fortified himself in a strong position commanding Monmouth Bridge, and reconnaissances showed that he was apparently not to be evicted by such a small force as that which Simon had at his command. Another way of winning back to England must be found: the best chance seemed to be to attempt to cross the Bristol Channel by ship. Accordingly the Earl sent a messenger to the citizens of Bristol, who were his good friends, bidding them dispatch vessels to Newport, at the mouth of

the Usk, to carry him across the estuary. At the same time another message was sent to Simon the younger, who was still busy in the siege of Pevensey (June 28th), ordering him to raise the leaguer, collect the full force of the constitutional party, and march to the Severn to attack Prince Edward in the rear. Both these despatches—whether sent by water or by land we know not—reached their destination.

Meanwhile, there must be considerable delay before the Earl's friends could act. He employed the necessary time of delay in making his way to the sea. Leaving Monmouth, he moved first to Usk, a strong de Clare castle, which he stormed, and then seized Abergavenny and Newport, which last was all important to him from its harbour. He was now joined by Llewellyn's promised succours from North Wales, and so, being in greater strength than before, was able to spread his troops abroad, and harry Gloucester's lands in Gwent and Glamorgan. But this operation did him no good in England; to turn the Welsh loose on the marcher lords savoured of want of patriotism, and their intervention was bitterly resented.

Unfortunately for the Earl, Gloucester Castle had fallen on June 29th, and Prince Edward and de Clare, having all the bridges on the lower Severn now in their hands, and seeing that Simon had withdrawn westward, were free to come with their main body to join the corps of observation under Giffard, which had been watching their enemy. They had an immense superiority in numbers, and sought a battle. They retook Usk only three days after it had fallen, and then marched on Newport. Before leaving Gloucester they had equipped three war galleys ("piratical ships" we are told) which they found there, and sent them down the Severn, with a body of chosen men-at-arms on board, to sweep the estuary. This little squadron came upon the ships from Bristol which Simon's friends had sent him, on the same day on which they had reached Newport, and attacked them at the very moment when the Earl's baggage was being taken aboard. The Royalists sunk or captured eleven small merchantmen—

apparently the whole fleet which the men of Bristol had sent over. On the same day Prince Edward fell upon Simon's outposts before Newport, drove them in, and attacked the Earl. His advance was only stopped when the bridge and the town were fired in his face by the retreating enemy, who took refuge beyond the Usk. (July 8th ?)

Simon was thus deprived of his last remaining chance of a prompt return to England, and was thrown back into the wilds of Wales, the only refuge open to him. He could hope to rejoin his friends, and to reach the regions that favoured him, only by making a very long detour. The sole possible course was to retire northward, keeping the Usk between himself and the Royalists, and to regain Hereford, where the town and castle were still held by his friends. In the wild mountainous country between Abergavenny, Crickhowell and Hay his army suffered dreadful privations. The knights, we are told, complained that they could not live on the Welsh diet of mutton and milk, and were lost without their daily ration of bread. Simon appears to have regained Hereford somewhere about the 18th or 20th of July, with a dilapidated and dispirited army, to which he was absolutely forced to grant some days of repose, now that it had reached a base which was safe for the moment.

Prince Edward and Gloucester had followed Simon for some way in his retreat, and the former even pushed on as far as Brecon, whose castle he captured. But finding that their enemy had eluded them, they hastened back through Monmouthshire to Worcester, and prepared once more to hold the passes of the Severn. They placed strong detachments at the fords, which had already been made practically useless, and guarded the broken bridges also. During the last ten days of July Simon made a serious attempt to force his way across—apparently somewhere between Worcester and Bridgnorth. It failed, and he got small consolation out of a minor success, the capture of Leominster and its Royalist garrison. But the Earl had not yet lost hope, as he knew that his partisans

in the east and south must by now be making themselves felt in the Prince's rear. He is said to have encouraged his men by assuring them that the enemy would soon be caught, as in a trap, between his own army and that of his sons. Meanwhile he had succeeded in procuring a few large boats—perhaps they had been floated down the Teme—with which he was preparing to make one more attempt to force a passage.

Meanwhile Simon de Montfort the Younger had wasted much time, by marching to his father's aid along a strange and most circuitous route. Speed should have been his main object, but he preferred instead to gather as large an army as possible, by calling in all his father's partisans, and with this purpose in view passed through all the regions where the cause was strong. He moved from Pevensey to London, from London to Winchester (July 14th), from Winchester to Oxford and from Oxford to Northampton; from thence he at last started toward the actual site of war, and arrived at the Castle of Kenilworth on Friday, July 31st. He came on the field too late, but with an imposing force, quite capable of facing the Prince and de Clare. With him were the young Earl of Oxford, William de Montchensey, Richard de Grey, Baldwin Wake, Adam of Newmarch, Walter Colville, Hugh Neville, and some fifteen other barons or bannerets. The spacious courts of Earl Simon's castle were unable to contain the host, of which the greater part encamped in tents outside, while some lodged in the town.

On reaching Kenilworth, the baronial army was at no very remote distance from the enemy, since Worcester lies only thirty-two miles from the castle. But Simon the younger took no military precautions, neither sending out scouting parties nor even surrounding his camp with a circle of outposts. Unfortunately for him, he had to deal with an enemy who knew how to use his opportunity. Prince Edward was well aware that he must prevent, at all costs, the junction of the two baronial armies. He must strike at one of them before they could meet. The Earl was protected by the Severn,

and his exact whereabouts, since his last check, was not accurately known. He was the more hard to find of the two enemies, and also the more safe to neglect, since he had the smaller force, and would take some time to cross the Severn even if he were left unopposed. Indeed, if the larger baronial army was first dealt with, the smaller became impotent for harm, because of its want of numbers. It was obvious that a blow at the younger Simon would be more effective, if only it were successful. While the Prince was in this position, news was brought him, by spies or traitors from the camp of the barons, that Simon the Younger had just reached Kenilworth, and was there encamping in complete and careless security. According to one chronicler (Hemingford) the Prince's informant was a woman named Margot, who had ventured into the barons' camp disguised in man's apparel.

Edward's decision was very promptly made. On the afternoon of the very day on which Simon the Younger reached Kenilworth, the Royalists received orders to prepare for a forced march without delay. Thus little time was given for the Prince's design to get abroad, even if there should chance to be spies in his camp, as there were in that of the enemy. The whole force was collected for the blow, not even a screen of pickets being left along the Severn to observe the elder Simon. A small garrison only seems to have been placed in Worcester. The host marched with all possible speed throughout the summer night, guided, no doubt, by local men who knew the roads. At dawn they were halted in the immediate vicinity of Kenilworth, in order to allow the rear to come up. At this moment the noise of a moving multitude was borne to their anxious ears, and it was feared that the barons had been warned, and were already in arms to defend themselves. But pushing on, the Prince's van found nothing but a train of wagons, laden with food and stores for the enemy, which had been moving all night like themselves. They were seized in a moment, and not a wagoner or a man of the escort got away to rouse the still sleeping camp of Simon the Younger.

A few minutes later the Royalists burst into Kenilworth and the host of tents beside it, absolutely unexpected and unopposed. They cut down with small trouble the few who offered resistance, captured many more, and scattered the rest. Wellnigh all the baronial leaders fell into their hands without giving or receiving a stroke. Simon the Younger escaped into the castle half naked, but Oxford, Montchensey, and most of the other men of note were taken in their beds. The baronial army was practically annihilated; few save those who had chanced to sleep in the castle escaped. What was most unlucky of all was that not a single rider seems to have got off to warn the elder Simon of the disaster.[1]

Edward tarried no longer than was necessary at Kenilworth. He was well aware that during his absence from the line of the Severn the old Earl had been left with his hands free, and might already be over the river and marching eastward. Accordingly he resolved to hurry back to Worcester with his whole army. We are told he was much helped in his progress by the fact that he had captured so many horses at Kenilworth that he was able to mount a large proportion of his infantry, who were thus able to keep up with the knights on the return march. (August 2nd.)

While the victorious Royalists were hurrying back toward Worcester, Earl Simon, as Edward had feared, was already on the move. Apparently he had been warned by his outposts, on August 1st, that the fords seemed no longer to be defended. He hastened up, from Hereford as it seems, and on August 2nd was busily transporting his men across the Severn at Kempsey, three miles south of Worcester. They had only a few boats, and the process was a long one. It seems, indeed, that the Earl's small army must have finished its crossing only about the same moment that Prince Edward

[1] The march of thirty-two miles from Worcester to Kenilworth during the hours between the afternoon of July 31st and the dawn of August 1st, seems astonishing. But that troops, even on foot, can do such distances on an emergency has been proved in the manœuvres of this very autumn of 1909.

got back to Worcester. All the intelligence that Simon could procure was that his son had been heard of at Kenilworth, and that the enemy had marched in that direction on the 31st of July.[1] Acting on this meagre stock of information, Simon resolved to turn southward, and to take the road by Pershore, Evesham, and Stratford-on-Avon towards Kenilworth. He apparently started off early on August 3rd, perhaps (as some authorities say) under cover of the night, so that no collison took place in the neighbourhood of Kempsey, though the Prince must have been only three miles away, at Worcester, on that morning. Probably Simon hugged the bank of the Severn for some miles before turning on to Pershore, for the direct road Worcester—Pershore would have been too near the enemy.

On Monday, August 3rd, Simon's force covered the fifteen miles that lie between Kempsey and Evesham, in which town it encamped for the night.[2] Meanwhile the Prince, though the Earl had a few hours' start of him, was near enough to him to be able to make an effort to cut him off from his march towards Kenilworth, for the detour to the south which had been imposed on Simon had sufficed to compensate the time-advantage which he had gained by an early start. Allowing his men the greater part of the day for rest, after their two forced marches from Worcester to Kenilworth (on the night of the 31st—1st), and from Kenilworth to Worcester (in the day hours of the 2nd), the Prince started off again on the evening of August 3rd. There are two roads from Evesham to Kenilworth, the one by Alcester, the other by Stratford-on-Avon. It was Edward's object to throw himself across both of these paths available to the enemy, but especially across the second, which the Earl was the more likely to adopt,

[1] The best authorities agree that Simon was still quite ignorant of his son's fate, though the Osney Annals say that he knew of it.

[2] The chroniclers who say that Simon did not start till the night of the 3rd or 4th are certainly wrong. Edward would have attacked him with every advantage, if he had so lingered.

because it was farther from the hostile army, and less likely to be intercepted. We are told that the Prince took a curious precaution at the moment of starting: he marched a few miles out of Worcester on the northern road, as if about to move on Bridgnorth, in order that spies might report to the enemy that he had taken this extraordinary direction, for he had information that there were traitors in his camp. Then, after reaching Claines, three miles north of Worcester, he reversed his marching columns and struck south and eastward across central Worcestershire. Edward's exact route is not specified by any chronicler; we have, indeed, only a single confusing note about it—Rishanger's statement that the Prince crossed an unnamed river, at a point whose name is apparently corrupt.[1]

[1] Transito fluvio juxta oppidum quod dicitur Clinemam, comitem versus iter arripuit.

The editor of Rishanger has corrected *Clinemam* into *Clive viam*. But this is arbitrary, since Rishanger may have wrongly supposed that Edward crossed the Severn at Claines, whose name is fairly like "Clinema," through misconceiving the situation of that village. But to take him to "Clive," *i.e.* Prior's Cleeve, five miles north-east of Evesham, on the Avon, and to make him cross that river there, seems to me equally unreasonable. And if Edward crossed the Avon to Cleeve, he must also have recrossed it, in order to fight at Evesham, since the battlefield is on the west bank of the river, not the east. But neither Rishanger nor anyone else mentions a *second* crossing of any river. Professor Prothero and Mr. Robert New, both of whose narrations I have on must points found useful in compiling this paper, make Edward, after passing the Avon at Clive, repass it again at Offenham, only a mile north of Evesham, without being perceived by the Earl or his men. This is surely incredible; an army, or a division of it at the least, some thousands strong, cannot move unseen within such a short distance of the enemy in full daylight, without being detected. For a host on the march is a long object: it would have taken Edward's force several hours to pass Offenham ford. Is it credible that no scout, forager, or peasant should have seen it, or have passed on the word to Earl Simon, if the passage was made so close to him, during a time extending over hours?

It is impossible to see how it could have passed unobserved. There were some 6,000 men with Montfort, who had to be fed, and their horses also. It is pretty certain that, if forced requisitions were not being made in the neighbouring villages, at least food must have been in

It seems probable that the Royalist army descended on Evesham by three converging routes; we have, indeed, clear notice that it came on the ground in three sections, the one commanded by the Prince himself, the second by Gloucester, the third by Mortimer, the greatest of the Marcher barons. It is also plain that both the Prince and Gloucester ultimately appeared from the north, and Mortimer from the west. The banners of the latter, when he came in sight, are said by Hemingford to have been seen *ab occidente et a tergo*, which can only mean that he used the southern road from Pershore to Evesham via Wick and Bengeworth, on the left bank of the Avon. As to the other two corps, we know that they came on the field separately, and I cannot help supposing that Edward had divided them, so as to utilise both of the two roads which lead to Evesham from Worcester. They are sufficiently close to leave no danger of the two columns getting out of touch with each other, or of one of them having to fight the baronial army before the other could come up. These two routes are (1) Worcester, Wyre, Chadbury, and (2) Worcester, Flyford, Dunington, Norton. They meet at Twyford, a mile outside Evesham, to the north. Mortimer's division, which ultimately appeared south of the river, and to the west, must have gone on the third possible road, by Pershore, at whose bridge it would cross the Avon, and so march on Bengeworth, with the object of stopping the town bridge, by which alone Simon could escape when the northern roads were blocked by the main army. For there was a chance that he might get the alarm early, and fly south towards Cotswold, where an escape towards London was open to him. There was little danger in dividing the host, since the Royalists outnumbered the Earl's men by seven to two.[1]

course of collection in the alternative way, *i.e.* by a market being offered to the peasantry for all that they could bring in. In either case, it seems incredible that no news of the passage of a large force, much of it mounted, should have failed to come to hand, during the long hours that it would have taken Edward to make the circuitous march, close in to the town, which has been attributed to him.

[1] So says the *Chronicle of Melrose* at least.

The town of Evesham, if this plan should succeed, would prove an absolute death-trap for the baronial army. It lies at the southern end of a deep, bottle-necked loop of the Avon, which is only fordable with difficulty in one or two places. There are only two exits from it—one by the town bridge, at the very end of the loop, the other by the high road up Green Hill, where the roads from Worcester on the north-west, and Alcester and Stratford on the north-east, fork outwards, a mile north of Evesham, after the neck of the loop has been passed. If an enemy should get close enough to the bridge to prevent the Earl's army from deploying beyond it and issuing from Bengeworth in fighting order, the only other alternative for the host caught in Evesham would be to fight its way up Green Hill, with the slope against it, in a desperate attempt to get out by the Stratford road. Evesham town would be a good spot to defend, since the river guards it on three sides, and the northern front would not be hard to hold, if hastily barricaded. But for an army not wishing to defend itself on the spot, but to get away at all costs, it was a most unfortunate position. One wonders that Earl Simon did not take care to move off at earliest dawn; but apparently he was still ignorant of what had happened at Kenilworth, and thought that the Prince was absent in that direction.

Simon, at any rate, did not make an early start. His men had taken their morning meal, and he had found time to hear Mass in the abbey, before the order to mount and make ready for departure was given. Apparently a few scouts went out first, for we are told that the first notice which the Earl received of the approach of the enemy was that his fore-riders came hastily back, to tell him that on reaching the crest of Green Hill they had seen a host with banners approaching from the north, several miles away.[1] "It is my son," said Simon, "fear not; but, nevertheless, look out, lest we

[1] So the *Chronicle of Melrose*, which adds that the scouts sighted the Prince when he was still nearly two leagues away. This, if correct, disposes of the whole story of the Royalists having crossed the Avon at Offenham, only a mile off.

be deceived." Nothing was visible from the town, for the view ceases at the sky-line of Green Hill for anyone who looks upward from the streets. But the bell-tower of the abbey (not the present splendid structure erected by Abbot Lichfield in Tudor times, but its predecessor) commanded the whole country-side. Simon ordered his barber, Nicholas, who was noted for his keen sight, to climb the stair, and afterwards followed him in person.[1] The first glance confirmed him in his original delusion, for Prince Edward had ordered that the banners captured at Kenilworth—the white lion of Montfort, the red and gold of de Vere, the three escutcheons of Montchensey, and the rest—were to be borne in his van to disarm suspicion. Some precious minutes were no doubt wasted by the Earl as he gazed on the approaching line of march. But after a space the royal banner of England was distinctly seen waving over the main body, and the Earl recognised his mistake, and saw that he would have to fight, or fly, at a short half-hour's notice. But worse was to come. A moment later a second body was descried pressing on to join the first. This was the Earl of Gloucester's division, coming up, no doubt, by the Wyre-Chadbury road. The red chevrons on the gold banner must have soon shown the Earl who was at hand. Yet still there seemed to be a chance left: the outskirts of Evesham might be held by a rear-guard while the baronial army crossed the Avon and retreated hastily up on to Cotswold. If this idea crossed the Earl's mind it was dashed away in an instant: a third column was descried south of the river, coming on from the west, with the unmistakable blue bars of Mortimer waving over it. It was already so close to Bengeworth that it was clear that there would be no time for the army to file over the bridge, before its head would be arrested by this newly-appearing force. "Now may God have mercy on our souls," cried Simon,

[1] Hemingford wrongly says that he ascended a hill; but there is no such hill in the neighbourhood save Green Hill, and that cannot be meant.

"for our bodies are in the power of our enemies!" The full horror of the situation had burst upon him; yet he was soldier enough to add, "By the arm of St. James, they come on well! And they have learned it from me!"

It must have been in hurried words that the Earl explained the desperate situation to his captains, when he had descended from the tower. They were surrounded by overpowering strength, and the army could not possibly get away. But there was still a chance for well-mounted horsemen to escape over Evesham Bridge eastward, before Mortimer could come up. Henry de Montfort earnestly besought his father to fly, and swore that he would hold the enemy at bay long enough to give him a good start. The old man laughed the proposal to scorn: he had brought them there, and would not shirk the responsibility. "I have grown old in wars, and my life draws near its end: my ancestors never fled from battle, or wished to fly." But he told Despenser, and the other barons who stood by, to escape if they would, and maintain the good cause when he should be gone. Not one would flinch from him, and all made ready for battle.

Simon had still a short space before the enemy would close in upon him, for Edward and de Clare took time in arranging their forces on the crest of Green Hill, so as to reach from water to water, and to leave no gap in the mile-broad front, before they should commence to descend upon the town: while Mortimer does not seem to have approached the bridge too closely. He was, no doubt, observing the movements of his friends, and anxious not to precipitate the fight before they were ready; he had to block the enemy's retreat, not to act on the offensive. The Earl employed the time of respite in forming his host in a deep column—the knights at the head, the heavy-armed foot behind, the light Welsh infantry in the rear of all. It was evident that the sole chance was to strike with a heavy impetus at the centre of the Royalist line, with a faint hope of bursting through by the first violence of the stroke. Therefore the best troops were put at the head of

the column, and all was risked on the first desperate charge. King Henry was placed in the centre ranks, so that, if by any chance the attack proved successful, he might be carried through in safety; for the possession of his person was everything to the baronial party; without it they would be too clearly rebels. The allegation that the King was taken on in order that he might die with his captors, if the worst came, need not be taken seriously; such an idea would not be in Montfort's way of thinking.

Accordingly the baronial host marched out upon the high road up Green Hill, undoubtedly upon a narrow front, which probably did not much exceed the breadth of the road itself and the waste on each side of it—very likely with no more than fifty or sixty horsemen abreast. At the moment of contact they would obviously be out-flanked, and it would be easy for the wings of the enemy to close in, and encircle them with fatal effect, if the first impetus failed to carry them through. The crest of Green Hill was probably at that time not covered with hedges and ornamental wood, as at present, but was bare, tilled ground, for it seems to have been part of the common field of Evesham. Where there is now no general view to be obtained, from water to water, because of the foliage, there was probably then a fair panorama of the scene. The sight of the long Royalist line on the crest was not inspiring. Though the first of Montfort's host came on steadily enough, the Welsh infantry in the rear began to melt away before a blow had been struck. Slipping off into the suburban fields and gardens at the side of the road, many of them plunged into the Avon, and swam over as best they might, hoping to elude Mortimer's approaching corps by mere dispersion, and making in the direction of Cropthorne and Fladbury.

But the phalanx of knights at the head of Earl Simon's column dashed into the midst of the Royalist line, with such a desperate and whole-hearted courage that they almost broke through. The enemy wavered and seemed to be about to break, but Warren of Basingburn rallied them, taunting them

with the memories of Lewes, and stinging them into steadiness. It would indeed have been disgraceful for them to give way, since they had not only an immense superiority of numbers—five to two even when Mortimer's corps was absent—but also the advantage of the ground, for Simon was attacking uphill. When the first charge failed to break through, the Royalists swung round both wings, and attacked their enemy on both flanks, and presently even in the rear.

Though thus encompassed, the baronial host—the Welsh excepted—showed no signs of flinching. They kept up the fight for more than an hour, dashing themselves again and again at one or another point of the narrowing circle around them. It would seem that they were gradually thrust westward, more and more away from the high road by which they had sallied out, and at last driven down into the dip below the present Abbey Manor and its shrubberies, since tradition has it that this was where the main slaughter took place, and here lie the well and ditch which are said to have run red with blood. It is more doubtful whether the little modern obelisk, which is supposed to stand on Simon's death-spot, is correctly placed. We should be inclined to think that he probably fell farther down the slope, and not on the crest where the fighting had begun.[1]

[1] This, I think, follows from the fact that so many miracles, supposed to have been wrought in after years by prayers to Simon as a saint, are connected with the well at the bottom of the dip where the slaughter took place, where his powers were exercised on behalf of those who bathed in the water or drank of it. Surely this must have been because he was believed to have fallen there. We are told that the well stood under great elms, that it had a stone covering reared over it, and that there was a crucifix with Mary and John. All this, of course, vanished with the Reformation, but the little spring still remains to mark the spot. There are 212 miracles connected with Earl Simon recorded in the fourteenth-century pamphlet published by the Camden Society. Many are trivial, and some grotesque: the good Earl condescended to heal a horse with the staggers, and a much-prized pet peacock which had been accidently trodden upon.

Those who have not leisure to study the quaint original will find some amusing extracts in Mr. New's already-quoted pamphlet of 1874.

KENILWORTH
R. Avon
WARWICK
Alcester
Stratford-on-Avon
Norton
EVESHAM
Bengeworth
Fladbury
WORCESTER
Kempsey
Claines
Severn R.
Bridgnorth
Pershore
Tewkesbury
GLOUCESTER
COTSWOLD HILLS
R. Teme
FOREST OF DEAN
HEREFORD
Leominster
Wigmore
Monmouth
R. Wye
Bristol
BRISTOL CHANNEL
Newport
Usk
R. Usk
Abergavenny
Crickhowell
Hay
Brecon
SKETCH - MAP
OF THE MAIN
LOCALITIES OF THE
CAMPAIGN OF
EVESHAM
JULY - AUG. 1265

Prior's Cleeve
Ford
To Stratford
To Warwick
Harvington
Norton
To Alcester
Offenham
Ford
Gloucester R
Edward
Earl
Simon
Evesham
Bengeworth
To Chipping Campden
To Broadway
Mortimer
To Winchcomb
Abbey Manor and Bath Well
To Church Lench
Throckmorton
Fladbury
Cropthorne
To Worcester
Wyre
Pershore
LOCALITIES
OF THE
BATTLE OF
EVESHAM
AUG. 4th 1265

For it was not till all was obviously lost that the old Earl was slain. The column was breaking up; the young Henry de Montfort and many others of the best of the knights had fallen; Simon's own horse had been killed under him. "Is my son slain?" cried the old man. "Then indeed it is time for me to die also," and grasping his great sword with both hands, he flung himself on foot into the thickest of the mêlée. For some time he stood hewing away manfully at a full dozen knights, who disputed the honour of encountering him. But a foot soldier of inferior rank came behind him, and dealt him a mortal blow in the back. With the words "*Dieu Merci*" on his lips he fell forward, and was literally hewn in pieces by his adversaries. For they not only cut off his head but his arms, and left him a mutilated trunk. The severed members were sent about the country-side in barbarous triumph, which a Prince like Edward should have suppressed at all costs as he loved his honour. For not only was the old Earl his kinsman, but he had treated him fairly in the days of his captivity when the baronial party had him at their mercy.

But ferocity was the mark of all that the Royalists did that day. In absolute contrast to the conduct of their enemies after Lewes, they gave no quarter whatever. All Simon's companions were slain on the fatal slope—his cousin, Peter de Montfort, Despenser the Justiciar, Ralph Basset, John de Beauchamp, William de Mandeville, Guy Balliol, Robert de Tregooze, Roger de Rivle, wellnigh every man of name in the host. A very few escaped, but these were wounded men who were left for dead in the first heat of the slaughter, and were discovered to have life in them when the corpses were being taken up for burial. Among these were Humphrey de Bohun, heir to the Earldom of Hereford, John Fitz-John, Henry of Hastings, and Guy de Montfort, the Earl's third son. With these exceptions, the whole army was practically exterminated. The Chronicle of Lanercost, which gives the losses of the vanquished with much detail and probably quite correctly, says that the slain included 180 knights, 220 squires,

2,000 of Montfort's own soldiers of inferior rank, and nearly 5,000 Welsh. For of these last the majority shared the fate of their English allies; even those of them who made off and swam the Avon were pursued through the fields, almost as far as Tewkesbury, by Mortimer's division, and cut down in such numbers that very few got away.[1] On the other side, the Royalists lost only two knights of name, though one chronicle says that nearly 2,000 of their infantry were killed or wounded. It is clear that the end of the battle, after Earl Simon fell, was a massacre rather than a fair fight, that no quarter was given, and that the wounded were mostly knocked upon the head. It was not without reason that Robert of Gloucester sang—

"Such was the murder of Evesham, for battle it was none."

It is worth while mentioning that the last moments of Earl Simon were spent under physical conditions which those who witnessed them never forgot. The morning had been fair, but a tempest was gathering from an early hour, and as the battle was joined there was an unnatural darkness, "priests could not see to read their service books, and those who sat at table could barely perceive the meat before them." This ended, as was natural, in violent rain, with thunder and lightning, just as the slaughter was over. It was a "Black Tuesday" for England in every sense of the word when de Montfort fell.

[1] It will be remembered that King Henry almost perished in the mêlée under the furious hands of the victors. He had already been slightly wounded before his person was recognised, and his frantic cries of "I am Henry of Winchester, your King," saved his life.

THE ALMSHOUSES OF BRISTOL.

By WALTER A. SAMPSON.

Since the year 1292, the traditional date of the foundation of Burton's Almshouse, so far as can be ascertained, thirty-five almshouses have been founded in Bristol, of which number fifteen have disappeared from one cause or another, or have been amalgamated with other foundations.

Dealing first of all with the past:—

When Victoria Street was made, in the year 1870, the almshouse in Temple Street founded by Alderman Stevens was demolished. This almshouse was founded in 1679, together with the one in Old Market Street, by the same founder. The building in Old Market Street was therefore extended to accommodate the twelve poor women removed from Temple Street.

St. James's Parish at one time contained three almshouses. One of these, known as *Spencer's*, situate in Lewin's Mead, was founded by William Spencer, an executor to the will of William Canynge, in the year 1493, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

Barrett says that the site is described in old deeds as opposite to the House of the Grey Friars, next Pointmakers' Hall, extending from Lewin's Mead into the water of the Froom backwards, and over against the dissolved House of the Grey Friars. The founder endowed the same with twopence a week for each inmate. At one time this almshouse accommodated as many as sixteen inmates.

The second was called the Gift House, situated on St. James's Back, founded, it is said, by William Chester during his lifetime, about the year 1537. He was mayor in 1537 and 1552, also M.P. for the city in 1555. He left certain property

under his will, dated September 2nd, 1558, to pay six poor people who dwelt there sixpence weekly.

In 1794 this almshouse still contained six poor widows or single women, who received 2s. 6d. weekly.

The third, called St. James's Poor House, was situated in Barrs Lane. It was said to have been purchased with the "poor's money." The site was originally occupied by nine small tenements, wherein several poor men and women dwelt, who were allowed 2s. 6d. a week each from the Poor Rates. It was rebuilt by the parish in 1752.

When the Bristol Charities were being inquired into by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, Spencer's Almshouse in Lewin's Mead and the Gift House on St. James's Back were among those particularly dealt with.

Both were in a dilapidated condition, and there was no money with which to rebuild; and being but poorly endowed, there were scarcely funds sufficient to keep the buildings standing. Application was therefore made by the vestry of St. James in 1841 to the Court of Chancery for leave to sell the two sites, and with the proceeds of the sale to pull down the third antient and ruinous almshouse in Barrs Lane, and build there one almshouse in place of the three. The Court granted the leave asked, and in 1845 the two sites were sold; but when the vestry began to clear the Barrs Street site, the Corporation called upon them to put back the frontage, for the purpose of widening the street, to such an extent, that they found they would be unable to build on the remainder of the site. Negotiations were entered into with the Corporation, which resulted in the Corporation purchasing the entire site in 1847, and the vestry then applied to the Court to have the first order varied, and obtained leave to consolidate the purchase moneys of the three sites, and therewith build the *almshouse in Whitson Street*. This was done, and an almshouse to contain eight women was completed in the year 1853. Within recent years the trustees have added to the building, so that it has now accommodation for twelve almswomen.

St. Peter's or Aldworth's Almshouse was founded in 1634 by Robert Aldworth, who was buried in St. Peter's Church, at the upper end of the south aisle under a handsome monument. There is little on record and no trace of this almshouse, which was situated near St. Peter's Churchyard.

A poor house belonging to the Baptists in Broadmead and the Pithay was founded in Redcross Street. So early as 1775 it provided apartments for four poor persons, but no pay. The *Directory* of 1843 shows that it maintained four aged persons, who received 2s. 6d. each weekly.

Barrett states that an ancient hospital was supposed to have been founded underneath the Tuckers' Hall in Temple Street by the Tuckers' Company, wherein six poor people had their dwellings and 20s. per annum.

The *Directory* of 1794 shows that it found shelter for six old men or women.

From Barrett we learn that the Weavers' Company had several lands which they held under feoffees for the use of the poor of the hospital under the Weavers' Hall in Temple Street, which contained four poor women, who received 1s. per week each from the company.

Prior to 1786 this hall was used as a chapel by the Methodists. It was then leased for one hundred years at an advanced rent of £8 8s. 0d. to the Jews for a synagogue. Under this hall there was a small chapel, with a large stone table, where Divine Service was anciently performed, but this service had long since been discontinued.

The Weavers' Chapel in Temple Church also belonged to this company.

Mr. Francis F. Fox states that when the chapel was originally built it was a lean-to structure against the walls of Temple Church, and when taken into the church was charged with a fee of 4s. 1½d. for a right of way through the church. This fee at the Dissolution fell into the hands of the Corporation.

In 1775 four apartments under the hall were still

appropriated for so many women, who were the widows of the masters or the wardens of the company. They received 12s. 6d. on February 18th, and a like sum on August 18th, being the interest of £100 bequeathed by Abraham Spereing. In 1840 two persons occupied this house, but after 1846 no reference is again made to the Weavers' Hall in the *Directory*.

A letter in the Bristol newspapers asking for information as regards this institution produced a visit from a man who stated that his father, who was born in 1756, was the last surviving feoffee of the Weavers' Company. Until recently the original grant of the chapel, dated 1299, with other deeds had been in his possession. He had, however, sold them.

Of the last old woman who lived in the almshouse he had dim recollections. Her name was Betsy Hake, to whom his father paid a few shillings weekly or monthly.

When Victoria Street was made, in 1870, both hall and almshouse were demolished. The Sanitary Authority paid the informant £700 or £800 for the premises, he being the last representative of that ancient company. The money, he regretted to say, was, like the almshouse, a thing of the past.

In 1840 St. Philip's Poor House, Pennywell Road, was crowded out with the destitute of that populous parish. No further reference is made in the *Directory* after 1843.

The *Friends' Workhouse* in New Street was erected in 1698 by means of a subscription, at a cost of £1,016 15s. 9d., to which sundry legacies were added, these being secured upon the buildings and land. The house was opened in 1699 for the employment of poor Friends in cloth weaving, which was carried on until about the year 1720, when the manufacture was discontinued, and the building used as a residence for poor Friends, rent free, to the end of 1866.

It was then let at a rental of £40 to several Friends for missionary purposes, and is still so used in conjunction with the infant school and soup kitchen, the rent being applied to the benefit of the poor.

The origin of *Temple Gate Almshouse*, sometime called

Roger Magadalen of Nonney or Nunney, without Temple Gate, is lost in obscurity. Manchee states that from 1548 it appears to have been under the management of the Vestry of St. Mary Redcliff, and to have been kept in repair by the general parish funds. It was rebuilt in 1675, and in 1793 contained eight women and eight men. The site was sold by auction in 1843 to Messrs. Hare & Co., the proceeds being used for building a new infant school in Pile Street, opposite the old Pile Street Blue School. Subsequently this infant school was purchased by the Great Western Railway, a new one being built in Ship Lane.

The old site is now covered by Messrs. Mardon, Son & Hall's factory.

Jones's Almshouse, Castle Green, is shown in a plan commenced in 1813 by John Plumley and completed to 1828 by G. C. Ashmead. It was built, but never occupied as an almshouse so far as can be traced.

In a deed dated 1393 mention is made of a hospital or almshouse within Temple Gate, opposite the house of the Augustinian brethren; and in another, dated 1471, it is called John Spicer's Almhouse, near Temple Gate.

Cranidge's *Benefactions and Endowments*, dated 1818, states that there were then no remains.

Before we take leave of the past, I should like to mention that Pryce's *History* refers to a supposed Almys House, All Saints, which was brought to light on rebuilding 41 High Street in 1850, when an oak beam was discovered bearing the inscription :—

" 1581. That : we : maie : praie : whylls : we : hav : "

It would be interesting to know whether this beam is still extant.

Having dealt with the past, we now turn our thoughts to the present-day almshouses. Beginning with Bristol's earliest foundations, Burton's Almshouse in Long Row, in the Parish of St. Thomas the Martyr, certainly claims precedence. Leland writing about 1542 says of it : " The Almese House by Seynt

Thomas Churche is called Burton's Almes House. Burton Maior of the Towne and Founder is buried in it."[1] A board on the front of the building claims that it was founded in 1292 by Simon de Burton, who was five times Mayor of Bristol. One of that name was mayor five times between 1294 and 1305, and owned property in Corn Street in 1297.[2] It is to be noted, however, that the entry in Ricart's *Calendar* under the year 1294—"This yere the abovesayd Simon Burton began to build Redclyf Church"— is in a handwriting three centuries later than the year 1294. It has been sometimes thought that the founder of the almshouse was John Burton, who was four times mayor between 1424 and 1451. But this is impossible, for the will of John Burton was proved on July 28th, 1455, while a legacy to the poor of this almshouse occurs in the will of Walter Derby, bearing date October 28th, 1385, seventy years before, and John Burton was buried in St. Thomas's Church. There really seems to be no valid reason for doubting the old tradition that the house was founded by Simon de Burton, and that he was buried therein; for though there is now no trace of a chapel, the almshouse has been twice rebuilt since the Reformation. The continued existence of the almshouse is proved by the repeated legacies to the poor persons in the House of Langrewe, or the almshouse in "la langrewe"; but the oldest benefaction now in existence is the gift of four shillings monthly by Thomas White in 1523. There is nothing to show what the original building was like, for the fabric was rebuilt in 1606 and again in 1721. So far back as 1623 the number of inmates was sixteen, as it is at the present day; but though, at any rate since the last rebuilding, all the inhabitants have been women, it would seem that in earlier days men also were admitted, for the burial of Robert the almsman was registered on March 23rd, 1558, and that of Mawd an almswoman, on January 31st, 1560. For a very long period almost all the support of the inmates must have come from the alms of charitable persons, for the endowments

[1] *Transactions*, xiv, 256. [2] Barrett, 506.

were very small, and no allowance was made from the general funds of the Vestry of St. Thomas's Church until 1786, when it was ordered that sixpence a week should be paid to each almswoman. Now each inmate receives six shillings weekly, and residence in the almshouse is not in all cases insisted on. The name "la langrewe," *the long street*, marks the foreign origin of those weavers who founded the trade which was for so long a time the staple industry of the parish.[1]

All Saints' Almshouse was originally a tenement in All Saints' Lane, given by Stephen Gnowsall for the support of eight poor women in the year 1350, two years after the great plague which wrought such havoc in our ancient city, when it is said the grass grew several inches in High Street and Broad Street. One authority gives the founder's name as Snowsale, and Barrett spells it Gnowsale.

This tenement was sold to the Corporation in 1740 for the sum of £420, and the south and east part of the present Exchange Buildings covers its site.

A new building was erected and completed in 1742 in St. John's Lane, the situation being described in Matthews's *Directory* of 1793 as Tower Lane Steps. There the almshouse remained until 1813, when city improvements once more called for its removal. A site was selected in All Saints' Street in the Parish of Christ Church, which was the property of All Saints' Parish, and here a new almshouse was built.

After enjoying a rest of seventy-five year's this site was required for the extension of Messrs. Fry's factory. A new almshouse was therefore erected in Rupert Street—referred to in the *Bristol Directory* of 1889 as Bridewell Street—adjoining the Crown and Dove Hotel, in the Parish of St. James, and completed in 1888.

Scarcely a decade passed when an adjoining brewery required its site, and it became necessary to erect a new building elsewhere, a site being selected in *St. James's Barton, in*

[1] The author of this paper has very kindly allowed a former Vicar of St. Thomas the Martyr to write this account of Bristol's oldest almshouse.

the Parish of St. Paul. This building was completed in December, 1899, where eight poor women now dwell, who receive 8s. each weekly.

Fate, I suppose, rarely decreed that an almshouse should occupy five sites, and wander, as this one did, through four parishes. Seeing it now occupies one of Bristol's busiest centres it is not improbable that it may at no distant date have once more to move on.

The actual date of the foundation of *Trinity Hospital Chapel* and *Almshouse* is unknown, but it must have been before the end of the fourteenth century. The chapel was dedicated to the Holy and Undivided Trinity and Saint George, being situate on the south side, within Lawford's, Gate in the Parish of St. Philip. The founder, John Barstaple, was the son of Walter Barstaple, a merchant and burgess of Bristol, bailiff in 1379, sheriff in 1389, and mayor in 1395, 1401 and 1405.

His wife is said to have founded the hospital or almshouse on the north side of the gate, and there seems to be some probability that this was the case. She died soon after her husband, about 1412, he having died in October 1411. They were buried on the right and left side of the high altar in the chapel, which contained two brasses with the following inscriptions under their figures, with his cypher, and a coat of arms under that of his wife.

Under his :—

"Hic jacet, Johannes Barstaple burgensis villæ Bristol, fundator istius loci, qui obiit 15 Kalen. Octob. litera Dominicalis D. A.D. MCCCCXI (1411) cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen."

Under hers :—

"Hic jacet Isabella quond uxor Johannis Barstaple quæ obiit A.D. MCCCC * * * * litera dominicalis * * * * cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen."

The founder provided twelve chambers and twelve gardens for six poor men and six poor women, together with a priest to officiate in the chapel on the south side of the gate.

The following are two of the earliest references made to this hospital, viz. :—

In Wadley's *Bristol Wills* (page 47) it is recorded that in 1396 legacies to the poor of the Hospitals of St. John and St. Bartholomew in Bristol to the poor of the renovated hospital at Lafford is Gate, etc.

And the following extract from *Cal. Papal Registers, Papal Letter V*, page 245 :—

" Holy Trinity, Bristol, 1399. 15 Kal. May (April 17). St. Peter's Rome.

" Inhibition under pain of the greater excommunication not to be removed by other than the Pope, except in the hour of death, from interfering with the execution of the will of John Barstaple of Bristol, who has founded and built a Hospital of Holy Trinity at Lafford is Gate by Bristol for the sick poor, and who proposes to endow it by will."

Reverting to the north side foundation, we learn much of its purpose and character from an indenture dated April 14th, 1572, which recites that Francis Codrington, a merchant of Bristol, by his will, bequeathed the sum of £50 for the benefit of this hospital.

The deed further declared that from thenceforward the sheriffs should cease to be at the charge of any priests or singing men at Mass holden in the chapel, and that they should also be discharged of a drinking yearly made under the mayor and his brethren.

In consideration of which discharges it was then agreed that the sheriffs should pay yearly 40s., to be employed upon the making and repairing of bedding, to be provided in the hospital for the comfort of poor people, strangers coming and going through Bristol, being sore sick or otherwise destitute of comfort and relief, there to be harboured and succoured by the space of one, two, or three nights at the most. Subsequently certain lands and tenements were purchased at Portbury and Portishead with this bequest.

In 1512 the income of this trust amounted to £35 15s. 2d.

In the same year (1512), Dame Elizabeth Seymor gave thirteen pence to each of the poor people quarterly, with an additional fourpence every Shere Thursday, which according to Brand is the Thursday before Easter, and is so called "for that in old Father's days the people would that day shere theyr hedes and clypp theyr berdes, and pool theyr heedes and so make them honest agenst Easter Day."[1]

The accounts of the hospital, still in the possession of the Trustees of the Bristol Municipal Charities, for this period are full of detail, and it is manifest that the chapel was exceedingly well cared for. Frequent charges are made for lamp-oil, tapers, new wax, scouring the standards, candlesticks on the awter, scouring the lamps before the hie awter, and for rushes against Trinity Sunday.

Father William Wode was paid £5 4s. for the year, and the bellman was paid sixpence for going about the town two times to show the pardon.

The inmates still offered Mass for the souls of their founders.

Twelve priests, in the year 1513, were paid 3s. 8d. for derygs (dirges) and Mass, one penny being charged as Mass penny.

In the year 1546 the founder's obit was kept on the 17th day of September.

It is perhaps worth noting that Arabic figures were made use of occasionally in the accounts for the year 1564 prior to this Roman numerals were invariably used.

The Reformation did not deter Master John Mathoes (Matthews), a draper of Bristow, from his desire to benefit this Foundation, for it was during the year 1564 that he gave the following property for the benefit of this almshouse, viz. :—

A tenement in Brode Street.
A tenement in Ballwyn Street.
A tenement in Grope Lane.
Two tenements on the Keye.
A tenement in Corn Street.

[1] Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, i, 83.

To complete the benefactions, it will be well to state here that by a deed dated 5th December, 1809, Richard Reynolds, a member of the Society of Friends, settled £4,000 3 per cent. annuities for the relief and better support of the poor men and women in this hospital.

Codrington, Matthews and Reynolds, who so considerably enhanced the value of this ancient foundation, should certainly be gratefully remembered, and it would, I venture to suggest, be appropriate to see their names recorded in the chapel which contains the brasses of the founders.

The penmanship of the weekly accounts is worth notice, especially between 1514 and 1590.

Writing was a fine art in the days of the quill. Clerks must have taken pleasure in making out their accounts, for the sentiments expressed are more than descriptive; at times they are poetic, as the following examples show :—

1s. 2d. is paid for 4 pounds of candles to burn in the chapel from All Hallowetyede (*i.e.* Hallowmas, the Feast of All Saints) until Candlemas (2nd February, the Purification of the Virgin Mary) to geyve lyghtt unto the poore and others that comythe in and owtt to praye.

1s. for iiii pounds of candles for the seyd poor people of the almshouse for this wynter tyme, to burn in the seyd chapell, to geve them lighte cominge together in the evenings, to geve God thanks for his great mercies shewed to them.

7d. is paid for ringinge the bell at vii of the clocke in the morninge and eveninge that they may come together to geve God thanks for his great benefyts and mercys shewed unto them.

There are many more such entries, but these lift the veil and give us a delightful glimpse of the past, which would otherwise have been lost.

In 1574 we get a view of the old buildings and neighbourhood, for good Queen Bess paid Bristol a visit on her way to Wales.

We learn from the accounts of their time that the feoffees

expended the sum of 4s. in lime and hair to make the hospital fair against the Queen's coming.

The Queen first alighted at St. Lawrence's Hospital, changed some apparel, was met at Lawford's Gate by the Mayor (Mr. Kelk) and Council riding in scarlet with their foot clothes and pages. She was received at the Gate with an oration made by John Popham, Esq.

While she remained here many pleasant shows and sights upon land and water were made by the citizens, which much delighted Her Majesty.[1]

The hospital and chapel stood immediately within Lawford's Gate. Although the buildings are more extensive, the almshouses still occupy their original sites, with the exception of the chapel, which formerly stood on the opposite side of the quadrangle, and was removed owing to the site being required for the purpose of widening the street.

The gate was taken down to widen the entrance to the city in 1768. A street close by, however, perpetuates the name Lawford.

The precincts adjoining the almshouse on the south side are called the Batch, which signifies mound or hillock. Although it is now difficult to realise the fact, the hospital at that time was pleasantly raised above the surrounding country.

The inmates of our day have the benefit of living in a beautiful building with a green quadrangle, but in the sixteenth century, instead of a city, the inmates were surrounded with gardens, orchards, and waterways.

Two pieces of parchment written in Latin and set to music found their way into the accounts of the chapel for the year 1594. Although the writing is faint, the notes are quite clear.

The affairs of the almshouse in 1626 appear to have been managed very irregularly. Like other public institutions, the foundation felt the effects of the unsettled state of the times prior to the Civil War. The almshouse on the north side was closed and leased for other purposes.

Probably this accounts for seventeen pensioners being paid

[1] Evans, *Outline of the History of Bristol*, p 150.

varying sums from sixpence a week to £4 per annum. Payments were made indiscriminately, some of the recipients being children.

1s. a week was paid to a child born in New Gate, and a cripple brought out of the Bridewell was made a similar allowance.

While the Civil War was raging between the Puritans and Charles I the funds were used for the relief of the poor in the widest sense, payments being made to soldiers and sailors of various nationality.

The several parishes of the city were at this time called upon to subscribe towards the relief of maimed soldiers. Seven parishes in all contributed £4 6s. 8d., and a note of the ten parishes who refused to pay was ordered to be entered on the books.

The following payments show the dreadful state of affairs at that time, Alderman Shierman, the Mayor, ordering many of the gifts to be made:—

	£	s.	d.
To a poor woman which came out of Ireland..	0	2	6
To a soldier who was hurt at Pembroke Castle	0	1	0
To a poor woman taken by the Turks.. ..	0	2	6
To two soldiers	0	2	6
Lady Essex in the Towlsey	2	0	0
For maymed soldiers at the Towlsey which came from Pembroke	0	6	0
To a companie of Scotchmen were taken by the Ierish	0	5	0
To John Clifford came from York and his brother and their wives and children ..	0	4	6
To Frenchmen at the mayor's door ..	0	10	0
For one man taken by Capt. Barklett ..	0	1	0
To 3 Frenchmen taken by Ierish Friggetts	0	1	6

Taking advantage of these troubled times, George Ball, the bailiff, stole the almshouse bell and an iron crane out of the kitchen in the summer of 1653. He was ordered to bring in a new bell of the same weight and goodness and likewise an iron

crane before Michaelmas Day, and a note was made of the several sorts of goods belonging to the hospital in the custody of this somewhat questionable bailiff.

About this time it became necessary to consider the advisability of drawing up orders to regulate the civil behaviour of the inmates, particular stress being laid on the point that thenceforth no man or woman should after admittance into the almshouse presume to marry, upon penalty of expulsion. After a lapse of about three years on June 9th, 1653, the following orders were drawn up and put in force:—

First, that they be careful to pray privately every morning and evening in their chambers; that they frequent constantly every morning and evening, their parish church where they may hear sermons and be instructed in the knowledge of God and exercise of religion, and to hear lectures, sermons on the week days, and that for every omission that shall be proved against them fivepence of that week's pay shall be kept back at their next pay-day, provided that they be not hindered by sickness or some urgent necessity of which the mayor and aldermen only are to be the judges.

If the porter or deputy fail to open or lock the gate he should forfeit fourpence each time, which was to be divided amongst the rest of them.

If at any time either of them were contentious, and attempted to revenge himself by opprobrious and insulting speeches, he should forfeit 12d. of his pay, half to go to the party wronged, the other half to the poor box, and every inmate failing to attend the reading of the rules had to put 12d. into the poor box. The remaining rules are practically the same as those now in use after a lapse of two and a half centuries. Happily in the present day the trustees find no necessity to resort to fines.

In February, 1669, it was determined to grant thenceforth no pension to any person not dwelling in the hospital, and steps were to be taken to get possession of the almshouse premises on the north side for the use of the poor people. Not until

1690 were the premises restored and ready for occupation as an almshouse, when twelve widows were admitted and paid 1s. 4d. per week each.

Notwithstanding the feoffees' determination in 1669 to grant no pension to any person not dwelling in the hospital, six pensioners (two men and four women) were receiving 2s. 2d. a week in the year 1731, and in 1732 two more men were elected to receive pensions. No payment, however, appears to have been made after the following year. Possibly these pensioners were required to take up residence.

In April, 1696, the sum of £3 4s. 0d. was written off as value lost through the fall of the guinea from 30s. to 22s.

This foundation possessed three public houses on the Key (1712), viz. :—

The Three Kings and House adjoining on ye North	£10
The Swan Tavern	3
Ye Corner House called Ye Cock and Pye, newly built in 1689	6

Early in the eighteenth century the hospital on the south side, very commonly called the Dial Almshouse, contained ten men, ten women, a bedmaker and a washerwoman, while the almshouse on the north side contained twelve women. In 1739 the north-side building was extended, but the new portion was not completed until 1744, when six women were elected to receive 3s. weekly on admission, and six others to have the use of rooms only.

The chapel was rebuilt in 1796 at a cost of £463 4s. 3d.

As time went on the pay of the inmates improved.

	s.	d.	
In 1822 the weekly pay was	4	0	
In 1832 ,, ,, ...	4	6	
In 1834 ,, ,, ...	5	0	
In 1872 ,, ,, ...	6	0	
In 1880 ,, ,, ...	7	0	(the same as they now receive).

Chapel of the three Kings of Cologne.
Top of Christmas Steps, Bristol.

J. Johnson, 1824.

W. Moline, Photo.

The almshouse building on the south side was partly pulled down and rebuilt in 1857–8 for twelve inmates at a cost of £1,624.

In 1865 an addition was made for eight inmates, costing £2,688.

In 1874 land adjoining the almshouse was purchased at a cost of £1,600 for a further extension of the buildings. The enlargement was made in 1875–6 providing accommodation for twelve more inmates at a cost of £4,746. A further addition was made in 1880 for four inmates costing £1,190.

The chapel was again rebuilt in 1882 at a cost of £1,416. The foundation-stone was laid on August 15th, 1881. A bottle containing copies of the local newspapers and the London *Times*, a parchment setting forth the history of the foundation, and a few coins of the *Realm* were deposited in a cavity made in the foundation-stone.

The Rev. John W. Caldicott, D.D., conducted the opening service on Sunday, October 22nd, 1882.

The Merchants' *Hospital, King Street*, was formerly known as St. Clement's Almshouse. Barrett states that a guild was instituted in the year 1446 for the soul's health and good of the king, the mayor and others; and for the prosperity of the mariners who were exposed to manifold dangers and distress, there should be a fraternity erected to the worship of God, our Lady, St. Clement, St. George and all the saints of heaven to be founded in Bristol for a priest and twelve poor mariners to pray daily as above.

One of the earliest references to this almshouse is contained in a deed dated October 10th in 3 Elizabeth, 1561, which confirms to certain merchants of Bristol all that chapel with its appurtenances, commonly called St. Clement's Chapel, and all that parcel of land in the Avon Marsh, upon which soil a certain hospital, called St. Clement's Almshouse, was situate with garden.

Latimer, in his *History of the Merchant Venturers' Society*, states that it is not a little strange that scarcely an allusion to

this almshouse occurs in the records from the reign of Elizabeth until the announcement was made of Edward Colston's benefaction in 1695. This gift of land was estimated at a value of £1,000. Another gift of £1,000 was shortly afterwards received from the executor of Mr. Richard Jones, of Stowey, Somerset, on the Society of Merchant Venturers covenanting to build rooms for six additional almsfolk.

During the year 1696 the Society proceeded to build the western wing, and three years later the eastern wing, and then they rebuilt the old centre, thus uniting both angles.

The Rector of St. Stephen's Parish attends to the spiritual wants of the inmates.

The present almshouse is occupied by nineteen seamen and twelve seamen's widows, who receive 7s. each weekly. The Society makes a similar allowance to four out-pensioners.

Redcliff Hill Almshouse, said to have been founded by William Canynge about the year 1440, for fourteen poor persons. This house was originally situated on the west side of Redcliff Hill, on the road from the church towards Bedminster. It became ruinous about the year 1700, when it was rebuilt.

William Prewett left two houses in 1733 for the benefit of the poor inmates.

Tradition says it was originally a spittal for the entertainment of travellers, who received 4d. a day for their support.

When the New Cut was made for the Avon in 1805 the site was required. The house was taken down and a new one built by the Dock Company with a south aspect facing the river, the position being shifted a little for the convenience of their works.

The almshouse is situated in what is now known as Commercial Road.

From early times this house was appropriated for the reception of parish paupers. Now it is managed by the Redcliff Vestry, who pay fourteen poor women 1s. or 2s. a week.

Foster's Chapel and Almshouse, founded by John Foster during his lifetime, between the years 1481 and 1483.

By his will, dated August 6th, 1492, he desired to be buried beside the altar of the Holy Trinity, within the Parish of St. Werburgh, Virgin, of Bristow. He appointed a priest to sing in the chapel of his almshouse in Steepe Street, for twelve years after his decease, for his soul and the souls of his late wife, Elizabeth, their fathers, mothers and benefactors, and in especial for the soul of Jamys Venables, the priest to be paid yearly £4.

The almshouse was erected on a piece of void ground adjoining the house and land of St. Mary Magdalen, conveyed by an indenture dated October 4th, 1483, from the Prioress of the House of St. Mary Magdalen to John Foster.

Measures were now taken to erect a chapel for the inmates. By an indenture dated April 12th, 1484, John Foster held a piece of land under seal of the House of Tewkesbury for ninety-nine years, paying annually to the Prior of St. James 4s., undertaking within a year to erect upon the said ground a chapel in honour of the three Kings of Cologne. Upon this site, which was 36 feet in length and 90 feet in breadth, the chapel was erected in 1484 and dedicated, according to the stipulation of the Abbot of Tewkesbury, to the three Kings of Cologne.

No person was to be admitted but English, and none to be under the age of fifty years or married.

After the founder's death his executor, John Esterfield, purchased the land on which the chapel and almshouse stood for the benefit of the charity, and by an indenture of March 17th, 20 Henry VII (1505), he made certain bequests for the further benefit of the almshouse, stipulating that four of the poor women should be named and appointed by the Mayoress of Bristol for the time being, if any Mayoress be, or else by the Mayor. Four rooms are still retained for the Lady Mayoress's nominees.

Dr. George Owen, physician to King Henry VIII, granted

certain lands, chiefly in Redcliff, in the year 1553, to find ten poor men to be placed in Foster's Almshouse, and have 7d. weekly paid to them. The almshouse was rebuilt in 1708. Each inmate enjoyed the use of a small strip of garden until the year 1822.

In speaking of the improvements made in 1855 in Queen Street, now known as Christmas Steps, reference is made in the *Bristol Mercury* to the niches which are still preserved on the steps. They are said to have been used at one time by the mendicant friars, who sat there and collected doles from passers in and out of the city, a practice which within the memory of persons then living was imitated by the old women of Foster's Almshouse, who used on St. Michael's Day to sit in them with clean aprons and white plates and beg alms of the benevolent.

About the year 1860 Mr. John Foster, architect, prepared complete plans for the extension and rebuilding of this almshouse in order that the work might be proceeded with when the trustees had sufficient funds in hand.

The first extension was made in 1861, providing accommodation for four additional inmates at a cost of £2,254.

The almshouse was further enlarged in 1873 for the reception of six more inmates at a cost of £2,331.

The most extensive part of the design was executed in the years 1882-3, when the old buildings were pulled down and rebuilt for fourteen inmates, with three shops beneath facing Christmas Steps, at a cost of £4,916, thus providing for twenty-eight inmates in all, who each received 7s. a week.

St. John's or Strange's Almshouse, sometimes called Stranger's Almshouse, said to have been founded in the year 1491 by Robert Strange, who was three times Mayor of Bristol, was anciently described as being situate at the foot of the steps going into St. James out of Tower Lane. Manchee states that no document could be found among the parish papers to show by whom this almshouse was founded or endowed.

It seems to have fallen on very troublesome times, for

in 1640 a commission was appointed by the Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Wright, who found that many leaves had been cut out of the parish books which related to this charity, and further that the inscription on Robert Strange's tomb in St. John's Churchyard was entirely defaced. The Great Rebellion soon put a stop to all further proceedings under the commission.

The almshouse becoming ruinous, was taken down and rebuilt in 1721 with accommodation for thirteen women.

This building was sold to make way for Messrs. Fry's factory in 1901, and another was recently erected at *Rose Green, St. George's*, with accommodation for seven inmates.

The Temple Hospital, commonly called Dr. White's Almshouse, in *Temple Street*, was founded in 1610 by the Rev. Thomas White, D.D. He gave lands and tenements to the value of £52 per annum to endow the same. The building was completed in 1613 for six men and six women, who received 3s. each weekly. In 1824 the almshouse was entirely rebuilt with a modern and simple Gothic front by Mr. Edward Brickden, described as an operative architect of the School of Smirke.

The founder, the son of John White, was born in Temple Street, not far, it is said, from where the almshouse stands. He became a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1566, a Doctor of Divinity and Rector of St. Dunstan's, London, in 1584. In 1591 he became a Prebendary of St. Paul's, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1595 Canon of St. George's, Windsor. He died on March 1st, 1623.

The foundation now maintains thirty-two inmates and eight out-pensioners, who receive 8s. each weekly.

The inmates are elected by the Vicar of Temple, two aldermen and two members of the Bristol Town Council.

St. Nicholas Alms or Poor-house in King Street was erected in 1656, and is singular among Bristol institutions, in that it was erected upon the petition of the inhabitants of the parish. At the time of its erection its situation was described as under the wall in the Marsh, near Back Street Gate. The site was

granted in perpetuity by the Corporation on payment of 6s. 8d. per annum. The almshouse now contains twelve women and a matron.

Alderman Thomas Steevens, sometime Mayor of Bristol, by his will dated 6th April, 1679, gave lands and tenements in Breach Yate and Wick and Abson in the County of Gloucester to purchase two pieces of land, one in St. Philip and Jacob, the other in Temple Parish, to erect two almshouses for twelve poor men and women in each. A piece of land in Old Market Street was purchased from the feoffees of Trinity Hospital, subject to a yearly fee farm rent of £4. This almshouse was erected in 1686 for the maintenance of sixteen freemen's widows or daughters. The present building is a stone structure, probably built in 1725, as this date appears together with a bust of the founder at the upper end of the court. The building was enlarged in 1872 to receive the inmates from the Temple Street Almshouse on its demolition. It now contains twenty-four inmates, who receive 7s. or 8s. weekly. The founder was born at Bishop's Canning, Wiltshire. He came to Bristol as a poor boy, being of humble parentage, and was apprenticed to Thomas Gough, a grocer. About the year 1630 he commenced business on the old bridge, where it is to be presumed he made his money.

This bridge built in 1247, supported tall houses on either side. A chapel stood in the centre, called the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, where prayers were daily celebrated. Alderman Steevens was married three times, and was buried in St. Nicholas's Churchyard. His third wife survived him. Her maiden name was Cecil Selfe. He left money for the poor of the parish of Bishop's Canning.

Edward Colston founded a chapel and almshouse on St. Michael's Hill at a cost of £2,500 for the reception of twelve men and twelve women during his lifetime, about the year 1690. He reserved the nomination of the almspeople to himself, and after his death bequeathed the same power to the Merchant Venturers' in perpetuity.

Edward Colston was born in the Parish of Temple on November 13th, 1636, and was never married. He died in 1721 at Mortlake in Surrey, his body being brought to Bristol and buried in All Saints' Church.

An annexe providing for four additional inmates was built in 1869. The overplus of the estate is paid towards the maintenance of the Merchants' Hospital in King Street.

In 1814 Mr. Hart Davis gave three acres of land in Clifton to increase the weekly pay of the inmates.

The almshouse now contains twelve men and sixteen women, who receive 7s. each weekly.

The Merchant Tailors' Almshouse in Merchant Street was under the control of the Company of Merchant Tailors of Bristol, which had its origin in a charter of Richard II, dated 16th October, 1399. This charter states that a chapel had been founded in the town of Bristol in honour of God and St. John the Baptist, to found, ordain and incorporate a certain fraternity for ever, to endure within the chapel to the honour of God and St. John the Baptist. The chapel was a chantry of St. Ewen's, the site of which is now partly occupied by the Council House.

One of the earliest gifts to the almshouse was made by John Wilson in 1587, who bequeathed two tenements in St. James's with a rental of £26 per annum for the poor of this almshouse.

The present structure was erected by Sir John Duddlestone, or, according to Barrett, by the Worshipful Company of Merchant Tailors in 1701, with nine apartments for either single or married people. At present nine widows or daughters of tailors receive 6s. each weekly.

Blanchard's Almshouse in Milk Street was founded by Elizabeth Blanchard, a spinster, who by her will dated 4th October, 1722, left six tenements, the one in which she lived to be continued as an almshouse. This house was at the north-east end of Milk Street, to reach which it was necessary to pass through a public house known as the "Bunch of Grapes."

She also left her furniture for the use of the poor inmates, who were to be five poor old maids or widows, special reference being made in her will to the clock and case standing in her dwelling-house.

This property was sold about the year 1890, together with the public house, the inmates being transferred to *No.* 89 *Grosvenor Road* in the parish of St. Barnabas.

Once again the inmates were removed about 1899 to Blanchard Cottage, which bears also the more prosaic name of 89 City Road. Under an order of the Charity Commissioners dated 18th May, 1900, the accommodation of this almshouse is to be for not more than six persons. At present three women inmates are paid 5s. 6d. weekly from the funds and three others live in the almshouse at a nominal rent of 6d. a week.

Stokes Croft Almshouse was built by Abraham Hook, merchant, and other members of the congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Lewin's Mead in the memorable time of the South Sea Bubble, A.D. 1722, upon ground purchased in Stokes Croft. The fact that it was built in conjunction with a school for boys renders it somewhat unique in the history of Bristol almshouses.

The building forms three sides of a square, the two side buildings constituting the almshouse for fifteen women, the rest of the building forming the school and dwelling-house for the master.

Sarah Ridley, by her will dated 10th November, 1716, gave £2,200 to purchase houses or land in or near some church or chapel in Bristol, to erect or convert some building as an almshouse for five old bachelors and five old maids, over the door whereof should be engraved :—

> " In memory of Mr. Thomas Ridley and Sarah Ridley being brother and sister, never married."

This almshouse was erected in 1739 at the south-west corner of Milk Street.

Several benefactors left varying gifts, some to the bachelors, some to the maids, some to both bachelors and maids. The ten inmates now receive 4s. 6d. each weekly.

From an indenture dated August 1st, 1777, it appears that William Fry had about that time erected a tenement as a hospital or almshouse, situate on the south side of Redcliff Churchyard, bounded on the front or northward part by a common-way leading from Redcliffe Hill to Cathay, called Colston Parade.

It was to be called the "Mercy House," for the reception of eight widows or single women. Eight single women now receive 6s. 6d. weekly.

St. Raphael's House on the New Cut was founded by the Rev. Canon Miles in 1859 for five sailors or sailors' widows, who must be communicant members of the Church of England.

There is no endowment, but the inmates receive a small weekly allowance and a supply of coal.

An almshouse was erected in *Jacob's Wells, Clifton,* under the will of Mr. Thomas William Hill for the reception of twelve poor women. This foundation is jointly managed by trustees appointed under the will of the founder and the Society of Merchant Venturers. Forty-six out-pensioners, all women, are also elected under this charity

Under the will of Dame Sarah Haberfield, dated 25th April, 1870, a site in Dowry Square, Hotwells. was purchased for the erection of an almshouse which was completed in 1891 at a cost of £11,288, and in the same year twenty-four men and women were admitted. According to the terms of the will, half of the inmates must be selected from persons living in the old Parish of Clifton, and half from the old Parish of Redcliffe. Each inmate receives 7s. weekly.

Henry Bengough, by his will dated April 9th, 1818, left property in the parishes of Nempnett and Blagdon for founding a hospital adjoining Trinity Hospital, for aged men and women not under fifty-nine years of age, in the proportion of two women to one man, half to be of the Church of England and

half Dissenters. The funds were insufficient to erect this almshouse before 1877, when no suitable site being obtainable adjoining Trinity Hospital, land with certain tenements adjoining in Horfield Road was secured at a cost of £3,323. The buildings were completed in 1879 at a cost of £6,197.

Married couples are now elected in place of single men and women under a new scheme of the Charity Commissioners. each married couple receiving 10s. weekly.

And this completes the roll of Bristol Almshouses. Between the traditional date of the foundation of Burton's Almshouse and the completion of the foundation of Lady Haberfield's, six centuries passed away, and each century left behind it in its course some of these havens of rest for those with whom the chances of life had dealt hardly, yet for whom there should still be some years of rest and comfort. The old city has never lacked rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations, merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten. Few perhaps in ancient times left a memorial in their day which did more timely good.

THE

NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE

By The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.,

Vicar of Banwell.

That which follows has for the most part existed in the form of notes for some twenty years, but it has not hitherto been published, because it seemed desirable to wait to see whether some additional evidence might be forthcoming which would tend to fix the date more clearly when the shire boundary of Gloucestershire was laid down. No such additional evidence, however, so far as the writer knows, has been forthcoming, and meanwhile modern alterations of boundary, by throwing parishes into adjoining counties, have tended to obliterate the old landmarks. Moreover, our President, at the Evesham Meeting, suggested three subjects of inquiry for elucidation: first, the cause of the curiously complicated set of boundaries to the north of Gloucestershire; then the origin and development of the monster Hundred of Kiftsgate; and, lastly, the fate of the vanished Shire of Winchcombe. The President of Council called upon the present writer to do his best to supply answers to these questions. There is, therefore, no other course open to him than to do his best to obey.

It will be best to begin with the question of the county boundaries, and to deal first with the actual facts of the case. The complications are caused in three ways: first, by indenta-

tions caused by the projection of parishes belonging to neighbouring counties into Gloucestershire, or by the projection of Gloucestershire parishes into neighbouring counties; then by islands of Gloucestershire lying in other counties; and, lastly, by islands of other counties lying in Gloucestershire. We begin our survey near Burford in Oxfordshire on our eastern border, and we notice that the parish of Widford, which lies locally in Oxfordshire, is an island pertaining to Gloucestershire. Passing northwards, we find that Icomb forms an island of Worcestershire in our county, while the Worcestershire parish of Daylesford is bounded on the east and south by Oxfordshire, on the west and north by Gloucestershire.

And now we enter on the really complicated part of the boundaries which we are considering—"a mighty maze, but not without a plan," as we shall see. Four parishes meet at and radiate from, the four-shire stone, two miles from Moreton-in-the-Marsh by the London road — Evenlode in Worcestershire, Chastleton in Oxfordshire, Little Compton in Gloucestershire, and Great Wolford in Warwickshire, while the huge Worcestershire parish of Blockley almost cuts off the Gloucestershire parishes of Lower Lemington and Todenham from the rest of our county. North of these two parishes lie two islands trending north and south, a Worcestershire island, consisting of Tidmington, Shipston-on-Stour, Tredington and Alderminster to the east, and a Warwickshire island, composed of Stretton-on-the-Fosse, Ilmington and Whitchurch, on the west, while the Gloucestershire parish of Preston-on-Stour runs out between Alderminster in Worcestershire and Atherstone-on-Stour in Warwickshire. From this point the boundary runs evenly, dividing the parish of Weston-on-Avon into Gloucestershire and Warwickshire parts, till the Worcestershire portion of Honeybourne indents our county deeply, as Broadway also does a little farther on, running down to within less than a quarter of a mile of the Blockley boundary, and almost cutting off the portion of Gloucestershire from Chipping Campden northwards from the rest of the shire. South of

this point is Cutsdean, a Worcestershire island. Farther west the Worcestershire parishes of Sedgeberrow, Overbury and Teddington, and Bredon run deeply south into our shire. Twining forms a Gloucestershire peninsula in Worcestershire ; while the Gloucestershire parish of Forthampton runs west from Tewkesbury also into Worcestershire. The Worcestershire island of Little Washborn lies east of Teddington. There are also two detached islands of Gloucestershire, Sutton-under-Brailes in Warwickshire, about seven miles north-east of Moreton-in-the-Marsh, and Shenington on the borders of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, distant about thirteen miles from the same place in the same direction.

That is the line of the northern boundary of Gloucestershire and the problem is to discover a set of conditions under which such a line might be laid down, and also, if possible, the period of time at which it was laid down. Since, then, the northern boundary of our shire was at the date of Domesday just what it was until recent times, it may help us to trace out the ownership in 1086 of the estates which adjoined the boundary in its more complicated parts, and it will be better, for reasons which will be apparent, to consider the ecclesiastical and lay owners separately. The table gives the modern and ancient names of the estate, the name of the Domesday owner, and a reference to the page of Domesday Book :—

MODERN NAME.	ANCIENT NAME.	DOMESDAY OWNER.	PAGE.
1. Widford, G.	Widiforde	St. Oswald of Gloucester	164*b*.
2. Daylesford, Wo.	Eilesford	St. Mary of Worcester	173.
3. Evenlode, Wo.	Evnilade	Do.	173.
4. Little Compton, G.	Contone	St. Denys of Paris	166.
5. Todenham, G.	Teodeham	St. Peter of Westminster	166.
6. Lower Lemington, G.	Leminingtone	Do.	166.
7. Sutton-under-Brailes, G.	Sudtune	Do.	166.
8. Blockley, Wo.	Blochelei	St. Mary of Worcester	173.
9. Ditchford, Wo.	Dicford	Do.	173.
10. Shipston-on-Stour, Wo.	——	——	—
11. Tredington, Wo.	Tredinctun	St. Mary of Worcester	173.
12. Tidmington, Wo.	Tidelmintun	Do.	173.
13. Alderminster, Wo.	Sture	St. Mary of Pershore	175.
13A. Preston-on-Stour, G.	Preston	St. Denys of Paris	166.
14. Church Honeybourne, Wo.	Huniburne	St. Mary of Evesham	175*b*.
15. Cow Honeybourne, G.	Heniberge	St. Mary of Winchcombe	165*b*.
16. Broadway, Wo.	Bradeweia	St. Mary of Pershore	175.
17. Hinton-on-the-Green, G.	Hinetune	St. Peter of Gloucester	165*b*.

	Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Domesday Owner.	Page.
18.	Sedgeberrow, Wo.	Secgesbarue	St. Mary of Worcester	173*b*.
19.	Overbury, Wo.	Ovreberie	Do.	173*b*.
20.	Teddington, Wo.	Teotintune	Do. ..	173.
21.	Kemerton, G.	——	——	—
22.	Bredon, Wo.	Breodun	St. Mary of Worcester	173.
23.	Twining, G.	Tueninge	St. Mary of Winchcombe ..	165*b*.
24.	Icombe, Wo.	Iacumbe	St. Mary of Worcester ..	173.
25.	Cutsdean, Wo.	Codestune	Do.	173.
26.	Little Washborne, Wo.	——	Do.	—
27.	Chastleton, Ox.	Cestitone	Bp. of Bayeux and others ..	—
28.	Great Wolford, War.	Volwarde	Robert de Statford	242*b*.
29.	Ilmington, War.	Ilmedone	Earl of Mellent	240*a* and *b*.
30.	Whitchurch, War.	Witecerce	Do.	Do.
31.	Stretton on-the-Fosse, War ..	Stratone	Gislebert f. Turold	243*b*.
32	Atherstone-on-Stour, War.	——	——	—
33	Shenington, G.	Senendone	Rex } in Tewkesbury .. {	163*b*.
34	Forthampton, G.	Fortemeltone ..	Rex }	163*b*.

Before any use is made of this table it is needful to made a few remarks upon it. The estates which belonged to St. Denys of Paris and St. Peter of Westminster lay in 1086 in Deerhurst Hundred, and had belonged to the old Abbey of Deerhurst, a Gloucestershire house. Tidmington appears in Domesday as a member of Tredington, and Shipston-on-Stour lay in Tidmington. It will be seen that the county boundary cuts the parish of Honeybourne in two, Church Honeybourne lying in Worcestershire and Cow Honeybourne in Gloucestershire. It is clear that Kemerton had been a possession of Deerhurst Abbey, for the Survey tells us that Girard the Chamberlain had carried into Tewkesbury Hundred eight hides which had always paid geld and rendered services in Deerhurst till Girard obtained them ; besides these half a hide in Kemerton belonged to St. Denys of Paris, and another half hide to St. Peter of Westminster. All the three islands of Worcestershire which lay in Gloucestershire belonged to St. Mary of Worcester ; Icomb as a member of Blockley, Cutsdean of Bredon and Little Washborn of Overbury. I cannot identify the Domesday equivalent of Atherstone-on-Stour. With regard to the two estates of Tewkesbury, it must be remembered that there can be little doubt that Tewkesbury, like Berkeley, was the estate of a great minster, which may not have been secularised until the eleventh century, as Berkeley Minster was secularised by Earl Godwin.[1]

If now we set on one side the estates of the Worcestershire houses of the Cathedral at Worcester and the Abbeys of Pershore and Evesham, and on the other side the estates of the Abbeys of St. Peter and St. Oswald at Gloucester, of Deerhurst and Winchcombe, with those of the great lordship at Tewkesbury, and draw a line between these two groups of properties, it will be found that the line so drawn coincides generally with the northern boundary of Gloucestershire. And it is evident that the line was drawn with the definite intention of placing the estates of the Worcestershire houses in that

[1] *Transactions*, xxv, 34.

shire, and of the Gloucestershire houses in that shire, except that it would seem that some fifty hides belonging to Evesham Abbey were of set purpose placed in Gloucestershire. The principle was followed out so closely that even the parish of Honeybourne was divided in accordance with it, Church Honeybourne, a possession of the Abbey of Evesham, being placed in Worcestershire, and Cow Honeybourne, which belonged to the Gloucestershire house of Winchcombe, being placed in that shire. The parish of Weston-on-Avon was also divided into 'Gloucestershire and Warwickshire portions but the Domesday estates of Weston and Milcote are puzzling.

Of course there were limits. The shire boundary might wind about in the strangest way among the closely-intermingled estates, and the Cathedral of Worcester might mark that its diocese extended over Gloucestershire by retaining its hold even over three outlying properties which became islands of Worcestershire in Gloucestershire, but the influence of the religious houses did not extend very far on either side of the border-line. The Worcester estate of Gotherington in Bishop's Cleeve, the border of which ran within a mile of that of Little Washborne, remained in Gloucestershire. Evesham Abbey also held some estates in Gloucestershire very near the border-line; Willersey and Weston-on-Avon actually touched Worcestershire, Lark Stoke and Hidcote Boyce adjoined Warwickshire, while Upper Swell, Maugersbury, Broadwell and Adlestrop near Stow-on-the-Wold, and Bourton-on-the-Water lay not far from the shire boundary. It would seem, then, that though the ecclesiastical ownership of estates was a paramount influence in laying down the shire boundary in this district, it must have been limited and checked by other considerations. It seems that the shires were so mapped out as to contain a certain number of hides, and it might be very likely that if all the estates of the Worcestershire houses had been placed to the north of the dividing line an unwieldy shire would have been the result. But no religious house except the Cathedral at Worcester drew territory which lay within

the boundaries of Gloucestershire into its own shire. The Wiltshire island of Kingswood, near Wotton-under-Edge, was an entirely different matter; it probably represented an encroachment on the royal estate of Berkeley, which had been made by Edric the Sheriff, and which was held in 1086 by Roger of Berkeley.[1] It is likely that Edric had transferred his stolen estate into another county to conceal his theft, as Edward of Salisbury, Sheriff of Wilts in 1086, was using the estate of Woodchester to eke out his payment as Sheriff for his county of Wilts.[2] It is to be noted also that while Icomb, Cutsdean, and Little Washborn were subject both in civil and ecclesiastical matters to Worcestershire authorities, Kingswood Church remained subject to the Bishops of Worcester and Gloucester; the connection with Wiltshire was a merely secular one, for Edric the Sheriff, being merely a secular official, could only transfer secular jurisdiction.

The confusion in ecclesiastical matters in North-east Gloucestershire was scarcely less than it was in secular matters. In South-western Mercia the shire boundaries did not follow the boundaries of the ancient dioceses. Gloucestershire east of the Severn was carved out of the Diocese of Worcester, but the Forest Deanery lay in the Diocese of Hereford. Shropshire lay partly in the Diocese of Hereford, partly in that of Coventry and Lichfield. In Warwickshire the Deaneries of Arden, Coventry, Marton and Stoneley lay in that diocese, those of Kineton and Warwick in the Diocese of Worcester, in which diocese also the whole of Worcestershire lay. But Alderminster, Tredington and Shipston-on-Stour, though in Worcestershire, lay in the Warwickshire Deanery of Kineton, no doubt for the sake of convenience. The Deanery of Blockley, moreover, though it lay in the Diocese of Worcester, was in the Archdeaconry of Gloucester, and the cure of Ditchford, though it appears in Domesday as a member of Blockley, was attached to the Warwickshire parish of Stratton-on-the-Foss, which

[1] D.B., f. 72*b*.

[2] D.B., f. 164; *Domesday Analysis*, pp. 26, 186.

also lay in the Blockley Deanery. Of course the division into archdeaconries and deaneries dates from a much later period than the laying down of the shire boundaries, but it seemed better to metion these anomalies.

We are now in a position to attempt to fix the date when the boundary between Gloucestershire and its neighbouring shires was laid down. So far as the boundary between Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire is concerned, it no doubt coincided with the division between the ancient diocese of the Hwiccians and the South Mercians; our task begins at Kingham, where the Worcestershire parish of Daylesford comes in. We have noted that one of the main determining factors in guiding the course of the county boundaries was the ecclesiastical ownerships of the adjoining estates, the line being laid down in such a way, as far as possible, as to set estates belonging to religious houses in Worcestershire to the north of the line and estates belonging to Gloucestershire houses to the south of it. This being so, it is clear that the line must have been laid down at a time when the heads of these houses were men of influence, and not at a time when the monastic system was depressed. It is impossible, for instance, that such a boundary could have been laid down in the time of King Alfred, when, as he himself tells us, the monasteries generally lay empty and waste, that there were few on either side of Humber who could either render their services in English or translate a letter from Latin into English, when it was a subject for thankfulness to God that there were any teachers in office.[1]

It may be taken that this period of depression of the churches lasted in the Hwiccian realm from about the end of the reign of Ethelwulf in 857 till the adoption of the Benedictine system by several of the chief minsters in 969, and that it is not probable that a boundary determined by ecclesiastical considerations would have been marked out during that time. We proceed, then, to consider whether the boundary

[1] Introduction, St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*.

would have been adopted before the death of Ethelwulf. Certainly some of the Worcester estates belonged to the cathedral before that time, such as Daylesford, Blockley, Bredon and its member Cutsdean. Todanhom was bequeathed to Deerhurst Minster in 804, while, if Evesham charters are to be trusted, Church Honeybourne belonged to that abbey as early as 709. But Widford, which formed a Gloucestershire island in Oxfordshire, was a possession of St. Oswald's Priory at Gloucester, which was founded by Ealdorman Ethelred and the Lady of the Mercians about 909, and Hinton-on-the-Green, a Gloucestershire border parish, was given to St. Peter's Abbey by Elfleda, sister of King Ethelred, in 981.[1] We may conclude, therefore, with very fair certainty, that the boundary was not marked out before the beginning of the reign of Ethelred the Unready. But it was certainly in existence before the end of that reign, for the King died on April 23rd, 1016, and in the autumn of that year, after the Battle of Assandun, we are told that Cnut went up with his army into Gloucestershire—wende Cnut cing upp mid his here to Gleaweceastrescire.

We are thus led to the conclusion that our shire boundary was very probably laid down during the thirty-eight years of the reign of King Ethelred. We have seen that the course of the boundary was determined to a great extent by ecclesiastical considerations, and it is a strong confirmation of the accuracy of the period named that during the whole of that reign the See of Worcester was held by the Archbishops of York, and that two of those Archbishops, St. Oswald and Wulfstan, were, on account of their personal character, as well as on account of their high position, among the most influential men of their day. At the time of the accession of Ethelred in 978 St. Oswald had already held the two Sees for six years, and Aldulf, who succeeded him in 993, held them for nine years. Wulfstan, succeeding to both Sees in 1003, resigned the See of Worcester in 1016, and held that of York till his

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 547.

death in 1023. It might very well have been that either of these Archbishops would have been powerful enough to insist on the desirability of keeping the estates of the various minsters as far as possible in the same shires as those in which the minsters lay. At any rate, an immediate result of the resignation of Wulfstan was that Edric Streon deprived the cathedral of three estates, Batsford, Kingham and Eisey.[1] I cannot find that Kingham was an ancient estate of Worcester, but Batsford was a gift of King Ethelbald in the first half of the eighth century,[2] and Eisey was a gift of King Offa about 775.[3] Eisey appears in Domesday as Aisi, near Cirencester, north of the Thames; very probably Edric had it transferred to Wiltshire to make his theft more secure. He must, however, have been prompt in his iniquity, for the theft is stated to have occurred in the time of Leofsige, who was consecrated to the See of Worcester in 1016, while Edric was executed at the Christmas Gemot of 1017.

In a paper on "The Origin of the Mercian Shires"[4] reasons were given, drawn almost entirely from secular considerations, for thinking that the boundaries of the Mercian shires date from the time of Edric Streon about 1008. There is no reason for repeating any part of that paper here, but it is certainly a striking thing that the purely ecclesiastical considerations which have come before us in the present paper point to the reign of Ethelred the Unready as the most likely period for the marking out of the northern boundary of our county.

Dr. Maitland has pointed out[5] that the arrangement of the Mercian shires is a purely artificial one, based apparently on an unit of 1,200 hides and its multiples; and he gives

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 598: Boecceshofre, Aesige, Keingaham.

[2] K., *C.D.*, lxxxviii; *C.S.*, 163. [3] K., *C.D.*, cxxxiv; *C.S.*, 226.

[4] *Transactions*, xxi, 32–57.

[5] *Domesday Book and Beyond*, "The County Hidage," pp. 456–60: *Transactions*, xxi, 45.

numbers, taken from various ancient lists of shires, which would seem to show that with regard to shires in our neighbourhood the intention was that Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire should each contain 2,400 hides, and Worcestershire and Warwickshire 1,200 hides each. Dr. Maitland's calculation from Domesday Book gives the following totals for these shires: Oxfordshire, 2,412; Gloucestershire, 2,388; Worcestershire, 1,189; and Warwickshire, 1,338 hides; an approximation quite sufficiently near to show that the principle which the writer lays down is a true one. In the *Domesday Analysis*, p. 332, the number of Gloucestershire hides is given by the present writer as 2,611, still quite sufficiently near to the supposed unit of 2,400 to support its accuracy.[1] Of course, an artificial system of land division of this kind must be to a great extent independent of natural landmarks, and so the Mercian shire system is; even such great rivers as the Trent and Severn scarcely at any point of their course form shire boundaries for any distance. Perhaps the best example of a boundary laid down on a natural landmark is the fact that for some twenty miles the north-eastern boundary of Warwickshire is drawn along the Watling Street. When Mercia was mapped out into shires the method adopted was apparently the choice of certain towns as centres, and the allotting to a district round each town a pre-determined number of hides.

Worcestershire presents probably as good an example[2] as any other shire of the practical working of this system.

[1] With regard to Dr. Maitland's note (2) on page 457 of his book on Domesday, I have gone carefully into the matter, and am satisfied that the method of calculation adopted in the *Analysis of Domesday* is correct; and, in fact, a comparison of the Domesday hidage with the number of ancient holdings in various Gloucestershire estates, as shown in the paper on "The Pre-Domesday Hide of Gloucestershire" (*Transactions*, xviii, 288–319), will show that the process of calculation was rightly used.

[2] *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 451–5.

Domesday Book shows that the land of the shire was thus divided in 1086 :—

St. Mary of Worcester	300	hides.
St. Peter of Westminster ..	200	,,
St. Mary of Pershore	100	,,
St. Mary of Evesham	65	,,
Other owners	539	,,
	1,204	,,

And these 1,204 hides were systematised into twelve hundreds of 100 hides each. The two hundred Westminster hides had originally belonged to Pershore Minster, which indeed still retained certain rights over them.[1] Clearly the arrangement is a purely artificial one, and bears strong marks of the impress of the hand of an ecclesiastic. The shire should include the estates which lay in the three ancient hundreds pertaining to the cathedral, and in the three hundreds over which Pershore Minster possessed rights, with a good proportion of those of Evesham Abbey, and the remainder of the 1,200 hides should be made up in any way which might be most convenient.

Almost of necessity the boundaries of such a shire as this must be purely artificial. The Avon would have been the natural boundary between the shires of Worcester on the one side and Gloucester (and Winchcombe) on the other. But, as we have seen, the Mercian shire boundaries do not follow natural lines; the valley of the Avon was full of Worcester and Pershore estates, and, in fact, the river only divides the two shires at the point where it runs between the cathedral estate of Bredon and the Winchcombe Abbey estate of Twining. The boundary line between the shires of Warwickshire and Worcestershire to the north and Gloucestershire to the south would then be merely a line of convenience; and bearing in mind the strong ecclesiastical impress which the shire

[1] D.B., f. 175*b* : Dicit Comitatus quod Ecclesia de Persore debet habere Circset de omnibus trecentis hidis.

of Worcester bears, and the fact that Gloucestershire and the part of Warwickshire which touches our district also lay in the Diocese of Worcester, it is no matter for surprise when we find that the dividing line between the shires was generally so laid down as to keep the estates belonging to religious houses in the shire in which the religious house which owned them would lie.

We now pass to the consideration of the causes and the date of the disappearance of the ancient shire of Winchcombe. The document which tells of this event is a schedule, drawn up by Heming, a Worcester monk, of the estates of which the Cathedral at Worcester had been deprived during the Danish Wars in the reign of Ethelred the Unready and afterwards. The passage runs thus: "In the time when Edric, whose cognomen was Streona, that is 'adquisitor,' ruled over the whole realm of the English, first under King Athelred, and afterwards for a while under Cnut, and held dominion over it like an under-king, insomuch that he joined hamlets to villages, and districts to districts at his will, for the county of Winchcombe which at that time used to be independent, he joined to the county of Gloucester."[1] Edric, as we have seen, was slain in 1017; but as Heming alludes farther on in this passage to Archbishop Thomas of York, who was consecrated in 1070, and also to a visit of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, to Chester for the purpose of compiling the Domesday record of that district in 1086, his words concerning the disappearance of Winchcombeshire were not written until some seventy years had passed away since the death of Edric.

We notice first of all that Heming applies the word *vicecomitatus* to the district which was attached to Winchcombe as well as to that which was attached to Gloucester; and this expression might give rise to the idea that both Winch-

[1] Quasi subregulus dominabatur, in tantum ut villulas villulis et provincias provinciis pro libito adjungeret, nam vicecomitatum de Wincelcumb quæ per se tunc erat vicecomitatui Gloeceastre adjunxit.—Heming, *Cartulary*, p. 280; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 598.

combeshire and Gloucestershire were full-blown shires, such as the Worcestershire and Gloucestershire which Heming knew at the time when he wrote. But such an idea would very probably be quite an erroneous one. The word *scir* meant simply a region divided off for any purpose ; a *Biscop-scir* was a diocese, a *preost-scir* or a *scrift-scir* was a parish,[1] and it is likely that in this case *vicecomitatus* was used as a Latin equivalent of *scir*, and meant nothing more than "district," whatever the nature of that district might be. Gloucester and Winchcombe were the heads of independent districts, and Edric destroyed the independence of the district of Winchcombe by merging it in that of Gloucester. Now it is quite certain that there was once a shire or district of Winchcombe. A document relating to rights at Beckford and Cheltenham determined at the Council of Cloveshoe on October 12th, 803, is headed, "Into Wincelcumbe scire."[2] Unfortunately this document is first found only in Heming's *Cartulary*. Furthermore, the schedule of Gloucestershire estates belonging to Evesham Abbey in Domesday Book closes with the note: "In ferdingo de Wincelcumbe habuit S. Maria de Evesham lvi hidas, T.R.E."[3] A similar entry at the end of the schedule of the estates of Winchcombe Abbey runs thus: "T.R.E. defendebat se hæc ecclesia in Glowecestrescyre pro lx hidis."[4] The "quarter" of Winchcombe would seem, then, to be like the shire of Gloucester, a territorial area.[5] It is not unlikely that the schedule from which the testimony as to the hidage of Evesham Abbey was taken dated back to time when the shire of Winchcombe was still well remembered.

It will be seen that both Heming and Domesday Book are fully seventy years later than the creation of Gloucestershire, but the Great Record bears testimony in another way to the former dignity of Winchcombe. As a rule, the record of a Mercian shire begins with an account of the shire-town, then there

[1] *Transactions*, xxi, 32.
[2] K., *C.D.*, clxxxiv ; *C.S.* 309.
[3] D.B., f. 166.
[4] D.B., f. 165*b*.
[5] *Domesday Analysis*, p. 218.

follows a list of the landowners, and finally a schedule of the estates in the shire. To this rule there are but three exceptions. On f. 162*b* an account of Winchcombe appears immediately after that of Gloucester; on f. 280 the accounts of the boroughs of Nottingham and Derby appear side by side between the records relating to Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire; and on f. 336 an account is given of the city of Lincoln, followed immediately on f. 336*b* by an account of the royal borough of Stamford, and on f. 337 by an account of Torksey. But Torksey seems to appear merely as a member of Lincoln, with which city it was closely connected in many ways, even to the extent of paying, in King Edward's time, one-fifth of the geld of Lincoln. Stamford, however, stands independent with its twelve *Lagemanni* like those of Lincoln. Only two of the Mercian shires possessed two county boroughs; the shires were those of Lincoln and Gloucester, and the second county boroughs were Stamford and Winchcombe. And surely it is a striking proof of the ancient dignity of Winchcombe that on the page of Domesday it possesses a distinction in which its single peer is that only one of the five great boroughs of the Northmen which did not head a shire of its own.

We now proceed to try to discover, if possible, the nature of the district of which Winchcombe was the head. Side by side with the list of the county hidage already alluded to, Professor Maitland has set another list, which he calls "The Burghal Hidage."[1] It is really a list of fortresses in the realm subject to a West-Saxon King, with the number of hides in the territory attached to each fortress; and it was probably compiled about 918, in the time of King Edward the Elder, after the death of his sister, the Lady of the Mercians. The list begins with Sussex, and works westwards through the Kingdom of Wessex to Devon; then it turns northwards by Somerset, through Bath, Wilts, Oxford, Buckingham, to South-

[1] *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 502; *C.S.*, 1335; *Transactions*, xxi, 49.

wark, and finally mention is made of Essex, Worcester and Warwick. The hidage attached to the fortresses in our neighbourhood is as follows: Bath, 3,200; Oxford, 2,400; and Worcester, 1,200 hides. We notice that already by the reign of King Edward the Elder the 1,200 hide unit was in use, and also that the hidage attributed to the fortresses of Oxford and Worcester is the same as that which belonged to the shires of those boroughs in later times. We notice, too, that there is no mention of Gloucester, and that a very large hidage is attributed to Bath, which at that time was probably still in Mercia. Gloucester had been the capital city of the Mercian realm in the days of Ethelflæd, and it is likely that King Edward had removed the centre of the military system of the district to Bath in order to obliterate as far as possible any trace of the former independence of the Mercian Kingdom. We may take it, therefore, that the hidage of what is now Gloucestershire is included in the 3,200 hides attached to Bath. If now from the 2,611 hides contained in Gloucestershire in 1086 we subtract the 227 hides contained in the Forest Hundreds, West of Severn,[1] we find that there were in Gloucestershire, east of Severn, at that time 2,374 hides, a striking approximation to the total of two 1,200 hide units.[2] And if we were to say further that it is likely that one of these military shires or districts had pertained to Gloucester and the other to Winchcombe, there would be nothing to be said against the idea; and as Winchcombe was certainly in early days the head of a shire of some sort, there would be a good deal to be said in favour of it. If this is a true statement of the case, then we should suppose that Edric Streon combined the two 1,200 hide units of Gloucester and Winchcombe into a single administrative shire of the later type, and that it is

[1] *Domesday Analysis*, p. 332

[2] It is likely that the approximation is even closer than this, for of the twelve hides in the little Hundred of Tolangebrige, eleven belonged to the Minsters of St. Peter and St. Oswald, so that it would seem that this Hundred should be reckoned with those east of Severn.

to the loss of the independence of Winchcombe brought about in this way that Heming alluded. There is, of course, nothing to show in what parts of the present shire the respective districts of Winchcombe and Gloucester lay. But a guess that the district of Winchcombe lay mainly on the hills and that of Gloucester mainly in the vale might not be far wrong.

But the question arises whether we are to suppose, of necessity, that the limits of the later shire coincided exactly with the boundary enclosing the two 1,200 hide units. If we compare the hidage attached to the fortresses in Wessex with the hidage of the shires which contained them, it is clear that in most cases there is no close relation between the two sets of figures, and it is obvious that in many cases the fortresses must have been supported by men drawn from other shires than their own. If, however, we suppose that the later shire of Gloucester was composed of the two 1,200 hide units of Gloucester and Winchcombe, together with some 220 hides taken from the region dependent on Hereford between Severn and Wye,[1] then there would be little opportunity of variation of boundary except on the northern frontier, for the old frontier between the Mercians and Hwiccians on the east, the West Saxon counties on the south, and the Severn on the west would form fixed lines. But it is likely enough that there may have been considerable rectification of the northern boundary, in order that the ecclesiastical estates which abound in that district might, as far as possible, lie in the same shire with the minster to which they belonged.

We now pass to the subject of the growth and development of the great Hundred of Kiftsgate which now includes more than one-tenth of the area of the shire. The following table is taken from Rutter's *Gloucestershire*, pp. 38 and 39, and after each place-name is set the initial letter of the Domesday Hundred in which it lay: Ch = Cheftesihat; C = Celflede; W = Wideles; G = Grestestanes; H = Holeforde. The Record

[1] This portion of Gloucestershire lay in the Diocese of Hereford till 1541, and in the Archdeaconry of Hereford till 1836.

does not state in which Hundred Sudeley and Todington lay, and the dependencies of Winchcombe, other than the one marked, lay in the hundred of the town.

KIFTSGATE HUNDRED.

UPPER DIVISION.

Aston-sub-Edge	C.	Mickleton, with	C.
Batsford	W.	Hidcote Bartram	C.
Campden	W.	Pebworth	C.
Condicote	W.	Quinton, with	C.
Cow Honeybourne	C.	Admington	C.
Dorsington	C.	Saintbury	W.
Ebrington, with	W.	Sezincot	W. & C.
Charingworth	W.	Swell, Upper	W.
Hidcote Boyce	W.	Weston-sub-Edge	C.
Lark Stoke	W.	Weston-on-Avon	C. & W.
Longborough	Ch. & W.	Willersey	W.
Dry Marston	C.		

LOWER DIVISION.

Aston Somerville	G.	Sudeley Manor	
Buckland	W.	Sudeley Tenements	
Charlton Abbots	G.	Todington	
Child's Wickham	G.	Twining	G.
Didbrook	H.	Winchcombe, with	
Dumbleton	G.	Cotes	
Guiting Power, with	H.	Coclebury	
Farmcott	H.	Corndean	
Guiting Temple	H.	Greet	
Hawling	H.	Gretton	
Hayles	H.	Naunton	
Pinnock	H.	Postlip	G.
Rowel	H.	Stanley Pontlarch	
Snowshill	H.	Wormington	G.
Stanton	G.		

It will be seen that with the exception of Buckland the places in the upper division lay in the Domesday Hundreds of Celflede and Wideles, and those in the lower division lay in the Domesday Hundreds of Gretestanes, Holeford and Winchcombe; but Buckland is placed in the former list in a Winchcome Abbey rental of 1485.[1]

It is easy to learn from Domesday how these two groups of hundreds grew up. Of Langeberge in Cheftesihat Hundred we are told (f. 163) that in King Edward's day its profits were included in the sheriff's ferm, but that in 1086, together with two hundreds which the sheriff joined to it, it paid £15. These two hundreds would have been those of Celflede and Wideles, which were afterwards known as the upper division of the Hundred of Kiftsgate, or as Kiftsgate Hundred simply. We are also told (f. 162*b*) with regard to the Borough of Winchcombe that in 1086, together with three hundreds which were joined to it, it paid £28 of 20 pence to the ounce; that is to say, the payment was by weight, not simply by tale. The three hundreds would have been those of Gretestanes, Holeford, and the hundred of the town, in addition to the payment from the town itself, four elements in all. And this group of estates was known as the lower division of the Hundred of Kiftsgate, or as the Hundred of Gretestanes and Holeford.

The only estate in the Domesday Hundred of *Cheftesihat* or Kiftsgate was Langeberge, now a part of Longborough, with its member Mene. This last-mentioned place I cannot identify; the idea that it is now represented by Meon in Quinton has nothing but the similarity of name to recommend it. The other portion of Longborough lay in Wideles Hundred. It was, then, from the part of Longborough which lay in Cheftesihat Hundred in King Edward's time that the great Hundred of Kiftsgate grew up. And it does not seem that the consolidation of the hundreds into two groups was the work of a long time; it was begun and completed in the first twenty years of the Conqueror's reign. One of the Conqueror's

[1] Fosbroke, ii, 290.

sheriffs joined the Lordships of Celflede and Wideles Hundreds to Longborough, the capital Manor of Cheftesihat Hundred, and indeed the only manor in that hundred. With regard to the lower division of the existing hundred, the process was more gradual, though here also it was begun and completed between 1066 and 1086.

In King Edward's time the Borough of Winchcombe used to pay £6, of which the Earl had his third penny. In the early days of the Conqueror's reign, together with the hundred of the town, it paid £20. Then Roger de Ivri, while he was sheriff, added £3 to this rent, Durandus, the Domesday sheriff, added another £5, and in 1086, together with three hundreds, the payment due from Winchcombe amounted to £28 by weight.

The two groups of hundreds, then, that is to say, the upper and lower divisions of the modern Hundred of Kiftsgate, date from the reign of the Conqueror ; but the time when they were consolidated into a single hundred is not clear, though it is clear that the groups were distinct in 1086. A writ of certiorari was issued on April 3rd, 1391, to discover the profits of the Hundreds of Kiftesgate, Holford and Grestona, together with the fairs of Winchcombe and others held in the hundreds ;[1] and in answer to this it found that in 1350 John Musard held the bailiwick of the Hundreds of Kiftesgate for life. It was found also that Kiftesgate and Greiston, Kiftesgate, [Holford] and Greiston and Winchcombe in the county of Gloucester are of old styled hundreds, and ought so to be styled, and have been accustomed to be one and the same hundred called Kiftesgate and Greiston, and are not different hundreds, nor separate one from another.[2] It will be seen that the two

[1] *Landboc or Register of Winchcombe* (Royce), ii, 20.

[2] Kiftesgate et Greistone, Kiftesgate [Holford] et Greistone et Wynchecombe, in comitatu Gloucestrensi, antiquitus Hundreda nuncupata sunt, et esse debent, et esse consuerunt unum et idem Hundredum, vocatum Kiftesgate et Greiston, quod idem Iohannes eodem anno vicesimo quarto tenuit, ex concessione dicti Avi, et non diversa Hundreda, nec ab invicem separata.

groups of Kiftsgate and Greiston are first mentioned; and that then the single Hundred of Kiftesgate, and the threefold Hundred of Holford, Greiston and Winchcombe are enumerated separately. The same condition of things is found in the Record of the Pleas of the Crown for Gloucestershire in 1221.[1] The Record begins with the heading, *Hundredum de Kyftesiate*, then comes the Villate of Campden, then the entry, *Adhuc de Hundredo de Kiftesiate*,[2] *Hundred de Holeford et de Gretestane*. It is evident that the Hundred of Kiftsgate included the dependent Hundreds of Holeford and Gretestane. The same conclusion is supported by the entry relating to the last Plea from the Villate of Winchcombe, which runs thus: "52. Marinus of Winchcombe who was accused concerning a certain man who was found dead in his father's house, paid two marks that an inquiry might be held whether he were guilty or not; they were received by the pledge of Mathew the Cook, Odo of Dumbleton and Joseph de Mariscis. The jurors of Winchcombe and of Kiftsgate and of Gretestan say distinctly that he is not guilty, so he is quit." Here we have the jurors of the two divisions of the Kiftsgate Hundred and of the Borough of Winchcombe uniting in a single verdict, acting, that is, as the single authority for the one great Hundred of Kiftsgate. The condition of things was then just what it is now. This takes us back to within one hundred and thirty-five years of the date of Domesday, and I have not been able to carry the matter farther back than this. But it would seem that the consolidation of the two groups of hundreds into a single hundred must have been effected between 1086 and 1221.

It is evident that the moving cause of these consolidating measures was financial. One sheriff of the Conqueror united the two large Hundreds of Celflede and Wideles to the one-manored Hundred of Cheftesihat, simply, apparently, for his

[1] *Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester*, 1221.—F. W. Maitland.

[2] Interpreted by Dr. Maitland to mean "Hundred of Kiftsgate continued."

own convenience. Another of the Conqueror's sheriffs, or the same, united the three Hundreds of Holeford, Gretestanes and the town of Winchcombe to the town itself, also, apparently, as a matter of financial convenience. It only remained for some later sheriff to follow on in the path marked out for him, also to suit his own convenience, and to weld the two groups into one. The really wonderful thing about the whole matter is that the little one-manored Hundred of Cheftesihat should have given its name to this huge territory of some 84,000 acres. The only manor in the Hundred of Cheftesihat was a part of Longborough with a member called Mene. Where or what Mene was I do not know. Longborough now contains about 2,770 acres. In Domesday it lay partly in the Hundred of Cheftesihat, with 1,080 acres of arable, partly in that of Wideles, with 1,200 acres of arable; the Domesday acreage of 2,280 arable acres agreeing very fairly well with the 2,770 acres of modern ascertainment. But which part of Longborough lay in Wideles Hundred, and which in the Hundred of Cheftesihat cannot now, I think, be discovered. I made many inquiries in days gone by to ascertain the locality of Cheftesihat, not only in Longborough, but throughout the north of the shire, but without success. The Fosse runs by the lower part of Longborough parish, and what is evidently a very ancient road from Stow-on-the-Wold to Evesham traverses the upper part, and it is more than likely that Cheftesihat or Kiftsgate lay on one or other of these roads, but its place can, I think, now nowhere be found. The method of the development of Kiftsgate Hundred is clear enough; its birthplace is obscure. When it is said that the Hundred Court of Kiftsgate Hundred used to be kept on the top of a hill in Weston-sub-Edge,[1] this may have been the trysting-place of the old Hundred of Celflede in which Weston-sub-Edge lay, but it cannot have been the trysting-place of Cheftesihat Hundred, for that must have been situated in Longborough.

[1] Fosbroke, ii, 292.

The answers to the President's questions, then, would run somewhat in the following way. The northern boundary of Gloucestershire is a very broken and complicated one, because when it was laid down, about 1008, it was so arranged as to place the estates belonging to religious houses as far as possible in the shire in which the house would lie to which they belonged. This intention was, however, apparently checked by the desire to arrange the hidage of the shires according to 1,200 hide units. The " shire " of Winchcombe was probably a 1,200 hide-military unit, which ceased to exist when it was joined to a similar unit attached to Gloucester in order to make up, together with some 220 hides taken from the west of the Severn, the existing area of Gloucestershire. The Hundred of Kiftsgate is made up of the Domesday Hundreds of Cheftesihat, Celflede, Wideles, Gretestanes, Holeforde and Winchcombe. In the first twenty years of the Conqueror's reign the Hundreds of Celflede and Wideles were annexed to the Hundred of Cheftesihat, and the Hundreds of Gretestanes, Holeforde, Winchcombe and the town of Winchcombe were consolidated into another group. In each case the consolidation was an act of a sheriff, apparently for purely financial reasons. At some time between 1086 and 1221 the two groups were welded into one. In Domesday the only estate in the Hundred of Cheftesihat was a portion of Longborough which formed a royal manor, and the exact position of Cheftesihat seems to be unknown.

The following schedule is added because it seemed that it might be useful to those who are interested in the early history of the north of the shire. The Roman numbers (LXIX) refer to documents in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, the Arabic numbers (139) to those in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*. The document DXIV,* 1135, which is starred by Kemble as being doubtful, is in its present form probably a twelfth-century document, no doubt, however, containing older material, and so possessing a certain value. The Pershore document DLXX,* 1282, though starred, is probably genuine.

Number.	Date.	Grantor.	Grantee.	Place.	Remarks.
			1. WIDFORD.		Appears first in Domesday.
			2. DAYLESFORD.		
LXIX, 139	718	Ethelbald Rex	Bægia	Dæglesford.	
CXXX,* 222 ..	777	Offa Rex	St. Mary in Eouesham	Deilesford.	
CCLI, 436	841	Beorhtwulf Rex	Eps. Heaberht.. ..	Dæglesford	Freedom from charges.
CCCVI, 540	875	Werfrith Eps. ..	Ceolwulf Reg.	Dæglesford	Grant for three lives in part payment for freedom from charges.
CCCCXXVI, 882 ..	949	Eadred Rex ..	Wulfric Miles	Dæglesforda ..	vii hidæ the hireth into burgtune.
DXIV,* 1135 ..	964	Eadgar Rex ..	Cath. Wig.		
DCXXIII	979	Oswald Archieps.	Athelstani fratri ..	Degilesford	Grant for three lives.
DCCCCLXIII	..	Ælfgar Dux ..	Ægelwio (Abbot of Evesham, 1058–66)	Deilesford	Paying to the Abbot 6 marks of gold for the sustenance of the brethren of Evesham.
MCCCLXVII. ..	..	....	....	....	Mention in *Land-boundaries of Adlestrop.*

NUMBER.	DATE.	GRANTOR.	GRANTEE.	PLACE.	REMARKS.
			3. EVENLODE.		
CXX, 209	772	Offa Rex	Ridda, his wife .. .. Bucga, and daughter Heburg.	Euulangeladæ ..	
CXXX, 222	..	....	....	....	As under Daylesford.
CXXXVI,* 229 ..	..	....	....	....	Mention of river in *Land-boundaries* only.
CXLVII, 244 ..	784	Offa Rex	Esme Comiti	Rura iii tributari-orum	Sale for two lives with reversion to Evesham.
DXIV,* 1135 ..	..	....	....	....	
DLIV, 1238	969	Oswald præsul ..	Ealhstan	viii mansas.	
DCCCCXII	..	Edward Rex ..	Ad mensam fratrum	Eunelade	Mannig Abbot and Ædelwius Monk bought the land from Eammer. Mannig was Abbot of Evesham, 1044–58.
MCCCLXII	..	....	....	....	*Land-boundaries of Evenlode.*
MCCCLXVII	..	....	....	....	*Land-boundaries of Adlestrop.*
			4. LITTLE COMPTON.		Probably a member of Todenham.
			5. TODENHAM.		
CLXXXVI, 313, 314	804	Æthelric	Deerhurst Minster ..	Todanhom.	

			6. LOWER LEMINGTON.		Probably members of Todenham.
			7. SUTTON-UNDER-BRAILES.		
			8. BLOCKLEY.		
CCLXXVIII, 488–9	855	Burhred Rex ..	Alhun Eps.	Bloccanleah	Purchase of freedom from royal rights for 300 shillings.
			9. DITCHFORD.		A member of Blockley.
			10. SHIPSTON-ON-STOUR.		This town lay in Tidmington
			11. TREDINGTON.		
DCXX	978	Oswald Archieps.	Ælfnoth	Blacewellan	Blackwell in Tredington. At the end of the *Landboundaries*: "and vi foðra truses on Bloccanlea." *Trus* is fallen wood, twigs, etc., used for firewood.[1]
DCLXXVI	991	Oswald Archieps.	Eadric	ii hides Niowebol-dan	Newbold in Tredington.
				i hide Tætlintune..	Tollon in Tredington.
			12. TIDMINGTON.		
DCXIV	977	Oswald Archieps.	Ælfweard	Tidelminctune.	

[1] I owe this information to the Rev. C. Plummer.

NUMBER.	DATE.	GRANTOR.	GRANTEE.	PLACE.	REMARKS.
			13. ALDERMINSTER.		
DLXX,* 1282 ..	972	Eadgar Rex ..	Pershore Minster ..	v mansi in Sture..	Charter of Confirmation.
			13A. PRESTON-ON-STOUR.		
CLXXXVI, 313, 314	804	Æthelric	Deerhurst Minster ..	Sture.	
			14. CHURCH HONEYBOURNE.		
LXI,* 125	709	Kenred Rex ..	Evesham Mon. ..	Huniburna	The name Honeybourne occurs in four other charters, but only in *Land-boundaries.*
LXIV,* 130 ..	714	Ecgwin Eps. ..	Evesham Mon. ..	Huniburnæ.	
			15. COW HONEYBOURNE.		Appears first in Domesday.
			16. BROADWAY.		
DLXX,* 1282 ..	972	Eadgar Rex ..	Pershore Minster ..	xx mansi Bradan-wege	Charter of Confirmation.
			17. HINTON-ON-THE-GREEN.		
....	981	Elfleda, sister of King Ethelred	St. Peter's, Gloucester	Hynetone.	

			18. SEDGEBERROW.		
CXXXI, 223 ..	777	Offa Rex	Aldred, Subregulus..	iv mansi, Segcesbearue.	
DXIV,* 1135 ..	964	....	....	....	....
			19. OVERBURY.		
CCCVIII, 541 ..	878	Ceolwulf Rex ..	Werferth Eps. Wig...	vi cassates in Uferebreodun or Uferebiri.	
DXIV,* 1135 ..	964	....	....	....	....
			20. TEDDINGTON.		
DXIV,* 1135 ..	964	....	....	....	....
DLII, 1232	969	Oswald Eps. ..	Ætheleard..	vii mansi Tidinctune.	
DLVII, 1233 ..	969	Oswald Eps. ..	Osulf	Teottingtune and Ælfsigestun	Teddington and Alston.
DCXVII	977	Oswald Archipræsul	Eadric	iii mansi Tidingctun.	
DCLI	985	Oswald Archipræsul	Eadric	v mansi Tidantun.	
DCCCV	1046–60	Ealdred Eps. Wig.	The Monks of Worcester	Deotinctun and Ælfsigestun	Toki, the king's thegn, gave the land to the bishop; his son Alsi claimed the lands when he succeeded to his father, but gave them up in consideration of 8 marks of gold.

NUMBER.	DATE.	GRANTOR.	GRANTEE.	PLACE.	REMARKS.
			21. KEMERTON.		No doubt in early days a possession of Deerhurst Minster.
			22. BREDON.		
CXX, 210	772	Offa Rex	....	....	Refer to 3. EVENLODE. The reversion after the passing of the three lives was to the Minster at Bredon.
CXXXVIII, 234 ..	780	Offa Rex	Breodune Eccl. ..	x man. Wærsetfelda, v cass. Coftune, v cass. Wreodenhale.	
CXL, 236	780	Offa Rex	Breodun Monast. ..	v man. Teottingtun, x cass. Wassanburnan, x mans. Codeswellan, x mans. Norðtun.	
CXLIII, 241 ..	781	Heathored Eps. Wig.	Offa Reg.	xc man. æt Bathum	Confirmation by Offa of other estates to the See of Worcester.
CXLVIII,* 232 ..	778	....	....	....	Place-name Breodun.
CCXLVIII, 434 ..	841	Berhtuulf Rex..	Eanmund Abbat. ..	....	Grant of privileges.
CCLXI, 454	844	Berhtuulf Rex..	Eanmund Abbat. ..	....	Grant of privileges.
DXIV,* 1135 ..	964	....	....	....	....
DCLXXIV	990	Oswald Archieps.	Two brethren	Upthropp	The land belongs to Breo

			23. TWINING.		
CCIII, 350	814	Coenuulf Rex ..	Deneberht Eps. ..	Bituinæum Monas.	The king remitted the maintenance of twelve men at Worcester in consideration of the grant of the Minster at Twining.
			24. ICOMBE.		
CXLII,* 240 ..	781	Offa Rex	St. Mary of Worceste:	Icancumb.	
DCIV,* 1135 ..	..	....	....	....	....
			25. CUTSDEAN.		
CXL, 236	..	....	....	....	*See* under Bredon.
CCXLV, 430 ..	840	Berhtwulf Rex	Heaberht Eps. Wig.	Codeswelle.	
CCLXXIX, 490 ..	855	Alhwine Eps. Wig.	Æthelwulf Duci ..	Codeswellan.	
		22.	LITTLE WASHBORNE.		A member of Overbury.
			33. SHENINGTON.		Possessions of Tewkesbury, which was probably in early days the seat of a great minster.
			34. FORTHAMPTON.		

CHURCH FURNITURE AND DECORATION OF THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD IN BRISTOL.

By ALFRED HARVEY, M.B.

A Lecture delivered on Wednesday, November 10th, 1909.

Popular delusions die hard, and one that it seems impossible to kill is that the century following the Restoration was one of deadness in church work, with scandalous neglect, or worse, of the sacred edifices. Yet so far is this from being true, that, on the contrary, there was perhaps never a period when so much was done with the honest intention of conducing to the decency, seemliness and dignity of public worship. It is true that when, as was, of course, usually the case, the furniture and adornments of which I have to speak were added to already existing Gothic churches the result was an incongruous, if by no means unpicturesque, mixture ; but at least the pious benefactors of the day were working in a living style, and one which to them represented the highest art ; and it is true also that they employed real artists, and made use of the best workmanship procurable, and, except in rare and late cases, the best material also, thus setting an example not always followed in the days of the Gothic revival, with its machine-made furniture and its substitution of painted iron for good brass, and for panelled oak the abomination of pitch-pine. The very word "beautified," which our ancestors used to describe their restorations and additions to their old churches, serves to show the spirit in which the work was done, and that they at least had no doubt of what the effect was. Bristol was unusually rich in work of this period, and though there has been some subsequent destruction, yet happily the greater portion still survives, and we have in our midst a museum of the church furniture and adornment of the best period of English Renaissance Art, unequalled except in the Metropolis,

Photo by W. Moline.

REREDOS, ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

and in one respect not equalled even there, to which almost every old church in the city furnishes something.

The objects I have to describe may be divided into woodwork, metal work and plaster work. Of colour decorations, if there were any, nothing survives except the three great pictures by Hogarth, which have been wisely removed from their position at St. Mary Redcliffe, but which are, unfortunately, generally inaccessible.

WOODWORK.

The most conspicuous and important adornment is the reredos, introduced to give dignity to the altar, and especially valuable in such churches as St. Peter and Mary-le-Port, where local circumstances ruled that there should be no east window; indeed, even as a matter of selection it is a moot point in a well-lighted church whether a lofty reredos behind the altar, instead of a window, is not a more effective treatment of the east end internally. Of these Renaissance reredoses five remain, namely at St. Peter's, the Temple, St. Mary-le-Port, St. Thomas' and St. Nicholas', while there are some fragments existing of that at Christ Church. Two only as far as I know have utterly perished, for early prints of the interior of St. John's show one which appears to have been destroyed about seventy years ago, and one of mahogany which formerly existed at St. Stephen's has long perished.

In all, with one exception, the general design was the same, but the treatment is very varied. They are composed of a plinth carrying an architectural frontispiece, divided into three portions by two Corinthian columns, which support an entablature with a pediment to the central division, the entablature only being carried over the wings; above the centre is a sort of attic stage supported by scrolls, and it is in this stage that the greatest variety exists.

The earliest is that at St. Peter's, where some such feature was especially needed, and it was probably suggested to the wardens of that church by the similar fittings which were being

placed in Sir Christopher Wren's city churches at or before the time of its erection. The particular example on which that of St. Peter's seems to have been founded is the reredos at St. Mary Abchurch.

At a vestry on March 26th, 1697, it was ordered that an altar-piece should be erected, agreeable to a model or draft then produced, and the work was put in hand the next day. The carpenter who contracted for the work was John Mitchell, of London, who was engaged at the same time in re-seating the church. Whether he was responsible for the design does not appear, but probably he was his own designer; and it is not unlikely that he had worked on some of the great mass of church woodwork just carried out in London under Wren. The work was in progress for about six months, and the cost seems to have been £140.

This reredos is of oak, and the order Corinthian; its detail is very rich, and the workmanship excellent. It is of the full width of the chancel, 20 ft. 6 in., and a certain lack of finish at the sides gives the suggestion that it was designed for a larger building, and cut down to fit its present position. Lateral pilasters, as at St. Thomas's, would much improve the composition. Two Corinthian pillars divide the centre from the wings; they carry a boldly projecting entablature, which is carried over the lateral divisions, but not across the centre, where the attic stage is continuous with the main body. The central division has a panel of carved woodwork below, and two lofty panels in carved frames above. These are circular-headed, and reach as high as the cornice of the entablature. In the lateral divisions are similar panels below; those above are square-headed. Above and to the sides of the great panels are festoons of beautifully-executed foliage carving of the style we associate with the name of Grinling Gibbons, carved in the solid oak, and not, as in some later examples, executed in soft wood and nailed on. The frieze is also carved, and is slightly pulvinated, and the whole of the entablature is of the richest possible description. The attic

stage is connected with the wings by consoles, with fruit and foliage carving. It is supported by two pilasters carrying a broken segmental pediment, with a shield in the centre and urns over the pilasters.

Not much later in date is the reredos at St. Mary-le-Port. This too is of oak, smaller and plainer than the last-described, but equally satisfactory. It too has the same unfinished appearance at the sides. Its general design is similar, but it differs in having a complete entablature and pediment over its central division, so that it is more normal in design. The arrangement for the tables of commandments is precisely similar, and above the lateral tables are carved swags of foliage.

Though not quite next in point of date, the next place must be given to the reredos at St. Thomas's, the most perfect and satisfactory of our series. It was erected in consequence of a resolution of the vestry passed on April 18th, 1716, that a fair altar-piece of Flemish oak should be put up, at a cost not exceeding £170. Like the two last, it is of oak, and measures 20 ft. at its base, and a little more at the level of the cornice. It is constructed on the typical plan, of which it is the best-balanced example. The central division has two three-quarter Corinthian columns, with two half pilasters to each, and the wings are completed with a further pilaster, giving a better finish than is the case with the earlier examples. The entablature is carried right across, but is set back once in the lateral division and twice in the centre. The central division has a pediment, which is also twice broken back with very good effect. In the tympanum there is a pelican in her piety. The main stage is finished with a blocking course, with four pedestals above pillars and lateral pilasters. Up to this point the design is very correct and academical, above it is more fanciful. The attic stage occupies the central division only; two pilasters stand on the central pedestals, and a light, straight cornice connects them; above this there is a curved scroll pediment, first set back and then broken in the centre. The

attic is connected with the lateral division by carved scrolls, each of which terminates in a bracket. The most common part of the design is afforded by seven ornaments, which look like urns terminating in obelisks, but which are intended to represent the seven golden candlesticks. They are placed one in front of each pilaster and one on the top of each, a pair on the lateral brackets, and the seventh in the centre of the summit between the halves of the broken pediment. On each of the lateral pedestals of the blocking course there are plaster statues in three-quarter relief, almost life-size. The workmanship is very good; there is less exuberance of ornament than at St. Peter's, but there is some good carving at the base of the central panel, as well as in the scrolls. This screen has been altered, the framed tables of commandments having been removed and replaced by three large oil-paintings, filling the whole space between the pilasters. These pictures were inserted about five years ago.

The attic stage was originally about 4 ft. higher than it is at present, and bore a painting on the wood of "The One like unto the Son of Man," whom St. John saw in vision on the Isle of Patmos (Revelation i, 12–16). This painting remained in its place, both in the old and new churches, until the attic stage was removed, and the large picture now at the west end of the church was set in its place in 1828. The discarded woodwork was preserved unmutilated in the church, and in 1878, when the picture was removed to its present place above the gallery at the west end, the old woodwork was reduced in height to allow the half-circular window at the east end to be made into a complete circle, and a cross took the place of the figure, which was much injured by decay, and which could not have been replaced in the condition into which it had fallen.

The plaster figures, though not inappropriate, do not belong to the original design, but were inserted when the reredos was adapted to its present position to break the expanse of plain wall behind. There is a quite unfounded tradition that

this reredos was brought from abroad ; but it is purely English in character, and was very possibly adapted from that at All Hallows', Lombard Street, which is not only of the same general character, but has the unusual adornments of the pelican and the seven candlesticks.

The reredos at St. Nicholas' resembles the last in general arrangement, but it has Corinthian columns to the lateral as well as to the central divisions, and also to the attic story. It is the largest of all, measuring 22 ft. 6 in. in width ; but its height is excessive, owing to the overpowering size of the attic stage. It is a little earlier than the last in date, 1710–12, but is inferior to the other examples in its material, which is painted deal, in its over-elaboration, and in that its carved panels and swags, which in themselves are very delicately carved, are cut out of some soft wood and nailed on. As at St. Thomas's, the panels have been replaced by paintings ; but here they are smaller, filling the original frames to the gain of the composition. In spite of its faults, this is a very handsome and well-executed work.

The reredos at Christ Church was destroyed a few years ago when the existing one of stone was erected, but a fragment still remains in the vestry. This consists of the entablature, and of one Corinthian capital. Like the last described, it was of deal, and of the Corinthian order. The care taken in its execution may be seen on an examination of the remaining capital, which is carved out of a block made up of numerous small pieces of wood carefully glued and clamped together. The date of this reredos may be as late as the rebuilding of the church in 1782, and I am informed that it was the work of the younger Patey.

I have left the example at the Temple till last, although it is almost the earliest in date, partly because it differs in scheme, design and material to all the others, but more because it presents us with a singular puzzle, or series of puzzles, and because it has much in common with the objects in a later category, namely the organ galleries.

This screen at present occupies the east end of the Weavers' or St. Katharine's Chapel, to which it was removed about the year 1870. It consists of the altar screen proper and two return screens, north and south, under a continuous cornice, the total height being not more than 12 ft. The screen proper is of the full width of the chancel, 17 ft. 3 in., and does not appear to have been cut down. It is of mahogany, the earliest example of the use of this wood in Bristol, and its workmanship is very delicate. It is divided by Corinthian pilasters into five divisions vertically, and there is no plinth. The central division is occupied by a narrow frontispiece formed by two three-quarter columns of the composite order, carrying an entablature and pediment. The frieze is pulvinated, and is elaborately fret-carved. The opening between the pillars, which reaches to the ground, and must by its proportions have been intended for a door, is now filled in by deal panelling. The inner lateral panels are ornamented by a line of inlay, such as was customary in the cabinet work of the middle of the century, while the outer are occupied by pictures of Moses and Aaron by the local artist, Boucher. The return screens are of the same general design, but are of deal, and far inferior in execution. They extend 11 ft. 9 in. westward, that on the north being divided into three equal panels; on the south side one of the pilasters is omitted on account of the doorway into the chancel. Two of the panels contain paintings of St. Peter and St. Paul by the same artist as the paintings already mentioned.

Although there is no doubt that this reredos is the same one which was standing in the chancel previous to about 1870, I think there is considerable doubt whether it is the "beautiful altar-piece of curious workmanship" erected in 1701, toward the cost of which Colston subscribed munificently. In the first place, fitting accurately as it does the Weavers' Chapel, it cannot have fitted so well the slightly wider chancel; secondly, it has not sufficient dignity for the central features of a chancel (when we compare it with the towering erections

already illustrated, its want of elevation is very noticeable); lastly, and most important, its central feature is obviously a doorway. It seems to me to have been designed, not as a reredos, but as a low screen separating the main body of the church from a narthex, or ante-chapel, and I would throw out the suggestion that it may be the front of the organ gallery, which we know was erected at about the same time as the reredos. There has been at various dates a good deal of shifting about the furniture of this church, and it may be that at one of these spring-cleanings the original altar-piece was removed and this screen or gallery-front adapted to take its place. In any case it looks so well and fits so well in its present position that it is not too much to hope that it will be allowed to remain there.

Since this paper was written the remains of the reredos at Christ Church have been laboriously collected by the Rector, the Rev. R. T. Cole, and are at the present moment being re-erected in the choir-vestry.' Though much injured, sufficient portions have been found to reconstruct the whole. It is of the same general character as that at St. Thomas, but smaller, viz. made to fit a 15-ft. recess, but in workmanship shows the degradation of the woodwork of the closing years of the century. It is of deal, painted white and gold, and its elaborate ornament is decidedly rococo. The pillars are entwined with spiral wreaths in wood and plaster, rich but unsuitable. It was the work of the younger Patey, son of that Thomas Patey who is responsible for the beautiful carving at Redland Chapel and elsewhere.

Altar Tables.—Not more than three tables remain of our period, namely those at the churches of SS. Philip and Jacob, Christ Church and St. Thomas. The table at SS. Philip and Jacob is early in the period, being of the same date and design as the altar rails presently to be described as existing at St. Peter's and elsewhere; it is, indeed, probable that it is a made-up example, constructed of part of a set of altar rails. The table is supported at each angle by a group of four spiral

pillars standing on a plinth, and carrying a rail on which the actual *mensa* rests. The shafts are 18 in. in height, the total height of the table being 28½ in. This table now stands in the north chapel, that in the chancel being a much larger one of Jacobean date, a very fine example.

At Christ Church there is still preserved, though not in use, the table made for the rebuilt church. This is a very secular-looking example, semicircular in shape and in the style associated with the brothers Adam. It is an excellent example of the cabinet work of the day, and was made in 1792 by the firm of W. & C. Court of this city for the sum of £21, as appears from a voucher among the church papers.

There is also in the schoolroom at the west end of St. Thomas's Church an altar table of this period which was in use until 1878. The *mensa* measured 48 in. by 29 in., but a flap was added, probably in 1793, 14 in. across. The workmanship is very plain.

Altar rails were not used in English churches before the Reformation, but came into use soon after upon the destruction of screens or removal of their gates; their use became general under the government of Archbishop Laud, but under the subsequent Puritan regime they were generally removed, and most of the early examples now remaining date from the early years of Charles II. There are in the Bristol churches three sets of early altar rails, namely at St. Peter's, St. Mary-le-Port, and St. John's, the latter at present relegated to the crypt. All are of the same type, that of spiral or twisted columns placed near together, strengthened at intervals by standards or pedestals formed of four twisted columns set closely together at the angles of a square: there are six such standards at St. Peter's, and four in the smaller set at St. Mary-le-Port. The latter example preserves the Puritan arrangement of surrounding the altar on three sides, and, as Mr. Boucher has pointed out to me, there is evidence that the rails at St. Peter's, which now reach from north to south of the chancel, once followed the same plan. The total height

of the St. Peter's rails is 33 in., of which the pillars occupy 21 in. and the base and rail 6 in. each, the pillars being spaced about 4 in. apart. Those at St. Mary-le-Port are a little smaller, 30 in., in all of which the balusters account for 19½ in. They enclose a space 10 ft. 3 in. north and south by 8 ft. 1 in. east and west. The rails at St. John's differ from the others in that their pedestals are solid, with a panel of carving on the front face, an improvement in the design, giving as it does a greater effect of strength and solidity, as well as an agreeable contrast to the light open work of the rails.

We are accustomed to associate the spiral balustrade with the days of Wren, in whose woodwork it so usually occurs, but there is reason to believe, in the case of St. Peter's at least, that the Bristol rails are earlier, for there is an entry in the churchwarden's accounts 1662–3: "For setting up ye rayles about ye communion table and for mending them xvis." If, as there is no reason to doubt, this entry refers to the existing rails, they are probably Laudian.

Two other sets of rails are in existence, though not in use. At St. Thomas's the disused rail, which until 1878 enclosed the font, is unusual in arrangement and excellent in design and workmanship. It is semicircular in plan, completely enclosing the font from east to west. The material appears to be mahogany, and the rail is carried by taper balusters, square in section, fluted on the anterior or outer side. The height of the rail is 30 in. This rail is probably late in date, and may have been introduced at the rebuilding of the church in 1790.

The other example was in use at Christ Church until quite recently. Its balustrade is of iron, of no great merit, and, like the last, it may date from the rebuilding in 1782.

Until 1878 there were two sets of rails at St. Thomas's, each standing on a step. One about half-way down the chancel running completely across it from wall to wall, the other running round three sides of the altar; the communicants knelt round those which stood nearest to the altar.

Fonts.—One font late in the period may be seen at Christ Church. It is an urn-shaped structure of wood, of some elegance, in the Chippendale manner, and was probably made about 1792. There is also a mahogany font at St. Thomas the Martyr, which is now in use as a lectern, having been converted to that purpose by the simple expedient of covering the bowl and placing a revolving book-board on the cover. It has not been altered in any other way. It consisted of a fluted pedestal 10 in. across at the foot and 3 ft. high, expanding in width as it rises, which supports a square bowl, each side of which measures 22 in. Within the bowl is a circular basin lined with lead, and the whole height of the font is 4 ft. The design is a very tasteful one, and the workmanship is excellent. It was disused in 1878 because it was too small for immersion, and because Canon LXXXI orders that all fonts in churches shall be made of stone; but it had been in use for more than eighty years, for it dates from the time of the rebuilding of the church.

Organ Screens and Galleries.—The usual position for the organ in the Bristol churches was in a gallery at the west end; but at the present time only two such galleries remain, entire or in part, of our period, namely at St. Thomas's and Christ Church.

The gallery at St. Thomas's is a little later than the reredos, having been erected 1728–32, in consequence of a resolution of the vestry passed on September 21st, 1728, that an organ be erected by Mr. Harris, the cost not to exceed £400 for the organ and £100 for the gallery. It is to be noted that both the organ and the reredos were set up in the old church, which was pulled down in 1789. It is an equally pleasing example of the carpenter's work of the period, somewhat sterner and heavier in design, as befits its purpose. It is of the Roman Doric order, the only example in Bristol in which this order is used. It is 22 ft. 10 in. in width at the base, and has a projection of 10 ft. Like the reredos, it is divided into centre and wings, the centre having two circular columns a few inches

Photo by A. Harvey.

ORGAN GALLERY, ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, BRISTOL.

in advance of the main gallery, carrying entablature and pediment. The angles of the wings are supported by square columns, which carry an entablature only. Above these is a blocking course forming the gallery front, adorned with boldly-chiselled urns. The pillars are fluted, and the ovolo of the capitals carved with the egg and tongue moulding, a feature which belongs to the Ionic rather than the Doric order; but the entablature is correctly treated. The material is oak, and the work is excellent.

Of the old gallery at Christ Church only the two Corinthian columns which used to support its angles remain; they have been set back, and carry the modern gallery on cantilevers. The lower part of the gallery front is an admirable modern reproduction of the early eighteenth century manner; the upper, though good of its kind, is incongruous.

Two other galleries of the same date are known to have formerly existed, namely at St. Peter's and the Temple, the latter erected in 1701; and there were probably others.

Organ Cases.—From the organ gallery it is an easy transition to the organ case. With the organ as a musical instrument we have now no concern, the more especially as no organ of our date remains without such alteration as constitutes an almost entire rebuilding; but the case, as an architectural and æsthetic adornment, is germane to my subject.

The cathedral organ was completed in 1685, and within a few years most of the Bristol churches were provided with stately instruments, three of which retain their external form, namely those at St. Thomas's, Christ Church and St. Peter's, and a fragment of the old case is preserved at St. Nicholas'.

The cathedral organ was erected by Renatus Harris between 1682 and 1685. It is not known from whom Harris obtained his designs, but his cases, here and elsewhere, are excellent examples of the joiner's art, of the same character as the other woodwork with which churches were being adorned at the same time. Though the cathedral case, which is far the finest of our group, has been necessarily mutilated

during its frequent removals and alterations, yet on the whole it has been excellently preserved and well cared for. It has, however, had some narrow escapes, and Pryce, the Bristol historian, probably voiced the opinion of a large number of his fellow-citizens when he said, "It is to be regretted that the old incongruous organ case of the time of Charles I, and of no style whatever, is permitted to disfigure the otherwise commendable restoration of the edifice; it surely would have been far more judicious to complete the interior restoration by adding an organ case in unison with the architecture of the building, rather than to perpetuate what to every man of taste must be exceedingly offensive." Fortunately better counsels prevailed, and the case has been saved. In one respect it has probably gained by mutilation, namely in the removal of the rather top-heavy adornments, mitres, crowns, etc., which surmounted its towers.

The organ was originally designed to stand upon the screen, which separated the choir from the ante-choir, so that it has two fronts, of which that to the west was the more ornate. In the most recent restoration the two fronts have been placed side by side under two of the northern arches of the choir, above the stall canopies, with admirable effect. The design follows the common plan; that is, the larger pipes of the front are grouped into three towers, joined by two curtains formed by smaller pipes in panels. It is in the treatment of the curtains that the two fronts differ. In the old west front, which still occupies the more westerly arch, each consists of a Corinthian frontispiece, formed by two columns carrying a broken entablature and segmental pediment; above the panels of pipes there are swags of foliage. The pipes themselves are arranged in panels with semicircular heads, with fret carving. The east front is simpler, less academical, but more picturesque, and at least as satisfactory; it offers more than a suggestion of Wren's influence. The round arches of the panels are more emphasised, and in addition to the fretwork below the spandrels are filled with carving. A straight

cornice finishes them, and then the two panels are grouped together under the bold sweep of a single segmental pediment, interrupted in the middle by the central tower of pipes. Each front has a good deal of carved work in its sub-structure.

The organ at St. Thomas's was built by John Harris, the son of Renatus, between the years 1728, when the contract was made, and 1732, when it was placed in position on the gallery which had been erected for its support. It has since been removed to the north side of the (ritual) choir, and the instrument wisely rebuilt, but the case happily remains unaltered. The removal from the west gallery was very detrimental to the architectural effect. This case differs from the others in the greater importance of the centre tower. Its pipes are grouped into a central division, with two lateral pilasters supporting pieces of entablature, with a broken segmental pediment above all, filling very satisfactorily the round arch under which the organ is placed. The curtains end above in hollow arches with carved finials, and there is a profusion of fret carved work, a band below the pipes being noteworthy.

The instrument at Christ Church is the only one which remains in its original position and unaltered. It is a good example of the ordinary type of eighteenth-century organ case.

The latest of the number is the case at St. Peter's. This is of mahogany, the only instance of the use of that wood for an organ case in Bristol, and one of the extremely few examples of its use in ecclesiastical work. The general arrangement resembles that already described at St. Thomas's; it differs in the treatment of the towers as Corinthian pillars and pilasters. This is an artistic mistake, and the very correctness of the delicately-carved capitals only intensifies it. The grouping of two organ pipes to represent a fluted pilaster, or three for a three-quarter column, is a blunder which would not have occurred in work of a better date.

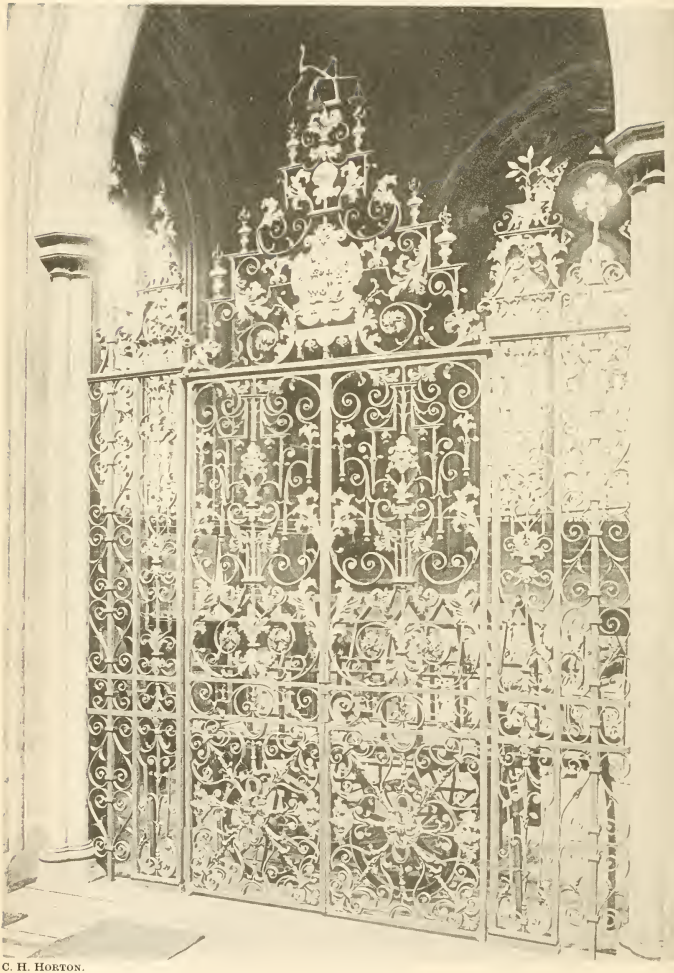
The most important losses under this head are the cases at St. James's, the earliest of the parochial organs, the Temple

and St. Nicholas'. The last named, if we may judge from the small and rude model remaining in the church, resembled that at St. Thomas's.

Pulpits, etc.—No unaltered pulpit survives, but at St. Stephen's, St. Mary-le-Port, Christ Church, and St. Thomas's Renaissance pulpits still exist in a more or less altered state. At St. Stephen's a mutilated fragment of an unusually elaborately carved pulpit of rather early date may be seen worked up into a chair. At St. Mary-le-Port is the tub of a simple but pleasing pulpit, altered to fit a new position. That at St. Thomas's is a late example, interesting only from an unusual combination of two woods, namely oak and walnut. This pulpit has been cut down, and apparently its base has been converted into a reading-desk. The early pulpit of Christ Church may be seen in a mutilated condition at St. Martin's, Knowle, but its fine sounding-board and the later carved panels (by W. Patey) of much merit still remain in the mother church.

Pews.—Several churches were fitted up with pews or seats in panelled oak during our period. Thus in 1697, 1698, J. Mitchell, the builder of the reredos, completely reseated St. Peter's Church at the not inconsiderable cost of £178 19s., together with frequent libations of beer to the workmen. Directly afterwards the Temple Church was reseated as a part of a general restoration, which included reredos, organ and gallery, and to which Colston was a liberal contributor. Both these sets of panelled oak seats were removed as contractor's perquisites at last century restorations, to be replaced by deal.

A few years later the churches of St. Thomas and Christ Church were pewed in a similar manner. The noble oak pews with mahogany capping at St. Thomas's, which stood fully 5 ft. high, were set up in 1752 in the old church. These seats have had a happier fate; in each case they have been very carefully cut down to accommodate them to modern ideas, but they have not been destroyed. At a fifth church, that of



C. H. Horton.

IRONWORK,
ST. MARY REDCLIFF CHURCH, BRISTOL.

St. Augustine, similar pews were in existence till a few years ago; these have been destroyed as pews, but a good deal of the panelling has been preserved, and utilised as wainscoting round the church.

Metal Work.

Undoubtedly the most precious relics of the period in question are to be found in the magnificent screens and gates of iron which still adorn three of our churches. Nowhere in the provinces, nor except at St. Paul's in England, is there any ecclesiastical ironwork to rival them; and indeed the screens at the Temple would hold their own in comparison with the celebrated examples in Italy and Spain.

The earliest dated example is the screen with gates at St. Mary Redcliffe, which was constructed in 1710 by William Edney, smith, for the small sum of £110. This screen originally extended across the entrance to the choir, and consisted of a great central pair of gates, two lateral gates and intermediate pilasters and panels, called hatches in the contract. It has been moved, perhaps more than once, and is now at the west end of the church, the central gates under the tower arch and the rest between the nave and south aisle, extending for the length of two bays. The most important portion is that comprising the central gates, which has been enlarged by modern work to fill the arch under which it stands. It is made up of two lofty gates between a pair of pilasters: the total width of the old portion being 7 ft. 7 in., and the height to the top of the gates 9 ft., but a triangular mass of enriched ironwork above brings the total height to about 14 ft. It is composed of wrought-iron bars of graceful and appropriate form, freely enriched with sheet-iron, hammered into scrolls, masks and urns, applied to both sides of the gate. The pediment presents the city arms, surmounted by helmet and crest. The screen-work on the south side is much lower, the main pilaster rising to the height of 8 ft. 8 in., and is less enriched with applied sheet-iron, but it is fully as beautiful.

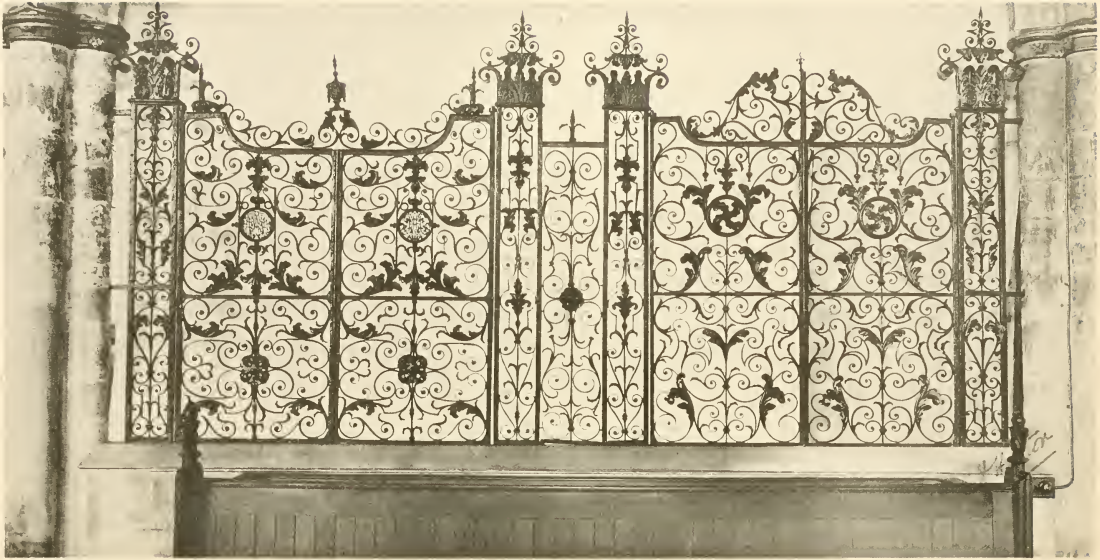
It now forms a screen or grille 32 ft. in length, made up of two pairs of gates, four side panels, and three greater and two lesser pilasters. The small gates which still close the entrances to the choir aisles, though evidently altered, are in the main old; they are by no means equal to the screen just described, and probably did not form part of the same work.

William Edney was evidently a master of his craft, and a careful student of the works of Tijou, on whom he has based his style, more especially in his judicious use of applied ornaments in sheet-iron.

The exact date of the pair of gates at St. Nicholas' is not known, but they are probably contemporary with those at St. Mary Redcliffe. The evidence for this is partly their general resemblance in style, but more particularly in that they are almost certainly by the same hand which made the sword-rest at the same church of St. Nicholas during the reign of Queen Anne. They were certainly in existence before 1743, for there is an entry in the vestry minute book of that year directing their removal from the chancel to the west end of the aisle, with an order for their widening to suit their new position. This alteration was very skilfully carried out, but it can be plainly seen on examination.

These superb gates form a mass of ironwork about 8 ft. by 8 ft. 3 in. in breadth and height; they are almost entirely covered, outside and in, by sheet-iron work, treated alike on both sides in excellent acanthus scrolls. As at the Temple, the centre of each gate is a panel or medallion containing a complicated monogram. If there is a fault, it is in the too great exuberance of the scroll-work, which completely hides the excellent construction; but to realise the great superiority of eighteenth-century workmanship, one has only to glance at the nineteenth-century screen in the same church.

The ironwork at the Temple was put up in 1726, I have not been able to ascertain the maker's name. Like the other examples, it has been removed from its original position, extending across the church, and re-erected for the most part



C. H. Horton.

IRONWORK,
TEMPLE CHURCH, BRISTOL.

as grilles or parcloses under two arches on the north and one on the south side of the chancel, the remainder being placed under the tower arch, where it forms a gate to the baptistry as at St. Nicholas'. The whole extent is about 50 ft., made up of seven pairs of pilasters with gates and panels between. The gates (of two valves each) are arranged in three pairs and one single, each pair differing in design, although alike in size and proportion, apart from some tampering to make them fit their present position. They differ in design from the earlier grilles at St. Mary's and St. Nicholas', but not so much as to preclude the possibility of their being by the same hand. I think that they are distinctly the most satisfactory of the three sets. They are more purely English in character, being simpler, severer and more constructional, and therefore more suited to a Gothic interior; this effect of severity is increased by the fact that they are simply blackened, and not painted and gilded like their fellows. When examined more closely, the effect of simplicity is found to rise from the very sparing use of the beaten sheet-iron, which, moreover, is used so as to emphasise and not to conceal the construction. Even their change of position has rather enhanced than detracted from their effect; this is due to their being raised on dwarf screens of stone, so that they are better seen than when they stood on the floor. Altogether I know of nothing in England which can vie with this magnificent range of grilles, either in extent or quality.

At the same church there is another small grille of the same general character, though plainer, as befits its position, filling the great semicircular fanlight over the west doorway. This is probably of the same date as the doorway, *c.* 1701, and if so, is the earliest of our Bristol examples.

There is happily but little to relate of destruction in this connection; the only work of the kind known to have disappeared is at St. Thomas's, where three iron gates were set up at the three entrances of the chancel in 1722. If we may judge both by the date and by the beauty and excellence of the contemporary woodwork in the same church, the loss is

a very great one. It must be remembered, however, that owing to the difference between the ground-plan of the old church and that of the new one it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to use the old gates in the present building. As the vestry of 1790 preserved the old organ, with its gallery, the reredos, and the pews, we may surely believe that they would have preserved the ironwork if it had been possible to do so. There seems to have been no wilful destruction of fittings, either in the rebuilding of 1790 or in the renovation of 1878.

Sword-rests.—Of these interesting relics of the once intimate connection between the civic and religious life of the city no fewer than twelve remain, not counting the shabby substitute at the Lord Mayor's Chapel. Of these one, that at St. Mary Redcliffe, is modern, but all the others belong to the eighteenth century.

The custom at Bristol seems to have been for the parish to provide the sword-rest, and we find only one in any church. At London it was not unusual for a lord mayor to present a sword-rest to the church of the parish in which he resided, so that there a single church may contain several.

Of our Bristol examples no two are exactly alike, but they may be divided into two very well-defined groups. The members of the first group, which is the finest and most costly, and I think the earlier, may be seen at the churches of St. Nicholas, St. John, the Temple, and St. Mary-le-Port. These belong to the same class of ironwork as the screens we have been considering, that is, they consist of a framework of hammered iron bars of graceful curves, more or less enriched with beaten sheet-iron foliage and grotesque. The finest of our examples, probably the finest in England, is the great rest at St. Nicholas's. The date of this is approximately fixed by the monogram of Queen Anne among its decorations, and this is corroborated by a voucher preserved in the church-warden's accounts "for scowring the sword and mace," dated a few years only after her death. It stands on the floor, and rises to the height of 10 ft., with a width at its widest part of

W. MOLINE.

SWORD REST,
ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, BRISTOL.

2 ft. 3 in. Its central standard terminates in a crown, and has a few inches from the ground a shell or cup to hold the sword, with a retaining ring higher up. The framework is nearly concealed by applied sheet-iron, beaten into acanthus foliage and monsters, and is so precisely similar to the work in the gates of the same church as to leave no doubt that it is the work of the same hand.

The rest at St. John's belongs to the same class, but is much smaller, measuring only 4 ft. 6 in. in height, by 10½ in. in breadth at its widest. It is a very elegant and charming piece of metal work.

The example at the Temple is almost as large as that at St. Nicholas', measuring 8 ft. by 22½ in. It is apparently an imitation of the last named, but far inferior to it in beauty, the workmanship being both coarse and over-elaborate. It seems scarcely probable that it can be the work of the same smith who is responsible for the delicate and restrained screens in the same church. Sheet-iron is used sparingly in this example ; what there is has the same monsters and acanthus leafage we meet with at St. Nicholas'. The containing ring is adorned with a monogram. The crown, which is top-heavy, is more elaborate than in the other examples, and the cup too is unusual, being formed of a number of separate leaves, beaten together and bent up into suitable form.

The fine rest at St. Mary-le-Port, not now in position in the church, is in a way transitional between the two groups. It is entirely of wrought bar-iron, and consists of a straight shaft, twisted at intervals, carrying the usual crown. The shaft is 6 ft. in length, so that the total height was nearly 7 ft. It is adorned with numerous graceful scrolls of iron-work, and has the usual retaining ring, in this case delicately twisted ; the cup is missing. About one-third of its height from the base there is a small metal plate, gilded, cut to the form of a twe-headed eagle ; on this is a small hook, which my friend Dr. Alexander suggests may have carried the arms of the mayor in office.

Rests of the second type, simpler and cheaper than those already enumerated, may be seen at the churches of Christ Church, St. Thomas, St. Augustine, St. Werburgh, SS. Philip and Jacob, St. Michael.

They are all of the same pattern, but no two are exactly alike. Each consists of a rod or standard, variously twisted, generally terminating in a crown, and carrying near its base a cup or shell for the sword-handle, and a retaining ring near the top. The standard is adorned with loops or bows in sheet-iron, and with placques adorned with coats of arms. The finest, that at Christ Church, is 6 ft. in height, exclusive of the crown; the others are from 4 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. over all. The examples at St. Michael's and St. Philip's differ in that the terminal crown is omitted, the one ending in a spike the other in a fleur-de-lis; but at St. Philip's there is a representation of a crown in sheet-metal adorning the retaining ring. The only instance in which the shields are emblazoned is that at St. Michael's, a modern restoration. Here the Royal Arms and the City Arms are depicted, and this seems to have been the usual custom; but I think that at St. Augustine's the arms of the Beaufort family were introduced.

I have not been able to ascertain the date or maker of any of these, but probably all came from the same workshop.

Lastly, in the prematurely-born Gothic church of St. Paul, Portland Square, there is a belated Renaissance sword-rest of about 1790 or 1791. This is of the same general character as that at St. Mary-le-Port, already described, but is larger and finer, and is a stately example of English ironwork, the decadence which took place in Renaissance work during the latter half of the eighteenth century being little if at all marked. It may be noted that the smith's work generally showed less sign of deterioration than that of the other artisans in the allied arts of architecture in the period in question.

There are preserved at Christ Church some minor examples of ironwork, including a bracket of extreme beauty, which may have been designed to carry a font-cover or a lamp.

BRASSWORK.

The brasswork of our period still existing comprises the two early lecterns at St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Mary-le-Port, and chandeliers at St. Nicholas', St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Peter's. The eagle lecterns, dated respectively 1638 and 1693, are too well known to need description; the latter was made for the Cathedral, where it stood till 1812, when it was cast out by the then dean and sold.

The chandeliers are all of one type, that vulgarly known as spiders; in our church records they are denominated "branches." They consist of one or two tiers of gracefully curved branched candlesticks, springing from central globes. It is usual to find inscribed on the globe the name of the donor, with the date; unfortunately, all our examples are without inscription. From the great frequency of their occurrence in and around Bristol soon after the introduction of the brass manufacture in the city, it is very probable that they are of local manufacture; but a careful search has not enabled me either to confirm or confute this.

The earliest and finest examples we have are the two large chandeliers at St. Nicholas'. Their date is approximately fixed by an entry in the vestry minutes, where the wardens were empowered in 1725 to procure "a new cross branch with iron stay as in the middle aisle." That the one in the middle aisle had already been in place some time is shown by a voucher preserved in the church:—

"April 18 (1728) ye clerk and sextons note | for scowering ye Branches 00 16 0 | for scowering ye eagle 00 2 6 | Paid April 23d 1728."

It is unfortunate and tantalising that among the mass of vouchers preserved at St. Nicholas' there is not one for the purchase of either of these chandeliers to set at rest the question who made them.

The St. Nicholas chandeliers are carried, not by chains, but by very long iron rods—the "stays" of the vestry minutes—

adorned at mid-shaft by foliated crosses of hammered iron. A precisely similar stay has been preserved at Christ Church, and lately restored to use. It may be noted that at the same church there exists a fine iron frame for a suspended lamp, apparently of Jacobean date.

The examples at St. Peter's are smaller, and apparently later in date. Mr. Boucher suggests that they belong to the later years of the eighteenth century. Of the once superb set at St. Mary Redcliffe only a few of the smaller ones remain, the rest having been ruthlessly discarded at the time of its restoration; their places have since been filled by copies of the existing examples.

The pair of elegant branches which were presented to St. Mary-le-Port by Mr. Standfast Smith, surgeon, some time before his death in 1774, have vanished.

There is still preserved at the Temple Church, though unused and in very bad condition, an iron stay of unusual character, and very ornate workmanship. It differs from the examples already noted in that all its enrichment is at the lower end instead of mid-shaft. The beaten sheet-iron has monsters similar to those in the sword-rest in the same church, but the adornment is chiefly of light sprays of naturalistic foliage instead of the acanthus pattern met with elsewhere. It has been heavily gilt.

ROYAL ARMS.

The ecclesiastical authorities in Bristol, fortunately, did not share the curious antipathy to these reminders of the connection of Church and State which prevailed so largely during the period of the Gothic revival, and our city preserves an unusually complete set of these interesting and highly-decorative symbols; in fact, the only churches which are without a table of arms are Christ Church and St. James's, the latter being a church which has been swept absolutely clean of all old furniture whatever. They are of all periods, from the arms of

Charles I at St. Thomas's, to the Hanoverian coat at St. Augustine's; but the majority apparently belong to the reign of Charles II, when their exhibition was first made compulsory. The Bristol examples are all carved in wood, and several are of considerable beauty and elaboration. Only two call for special notice, the very rare early example at St. Thomas's, dated 1637, in a Jacobean frame, and the curious pair of shields at St. Peter's, which, from an entry in the wardens' accounts, appear to belong to the reign of Queen Anne, but which have since been re-painted: "July 6 1703 Pd Geo Mason for ye lion and unicorn £4 8 0."

PLASTER WORK.

Lastly there remains to be mentioned decoration in plaster. The total amount of this is but small, occurring at three churches only, but it includes the unique ceiling of the chancel of St. Augustine's. This very important example is probably early in date, and rather crude in workmanship, but decidedly effective. It resembles some of the domestic work still existing in the city. The ceiling formed a barrel vault, which is divided into six panels by a ridge rib and two transverse ribs, all of which are heavily enriched with leafage. The centre of each panel is occupied by a large oval medallion, framed by an enriched moulding, set in a square formed by a looped and festooned band. The medallions contain representations of the four evangelists and other subjects. I am informed that before the restoration of the church this ceiling was continued over the whole of the nave, and that the existing portion narrowly escaped destruction.

The ceiling of St. Nicholas', very secular in appearance, dating from *c.* 1765, is poor and flat, but the modelling of the cherubs' heads, and especially of the figures of the central medallion, is very good. To the closing years of the century belong the two figures already noticed, forming part of the reredos at St. Thomas's, and in the same church are a number of pleasing cherubs' heads.

LIST OF OBJECTS OF FURNITURE AND DECORATION OF THE PERIOD NOW REMAINING IN THE BRISTOL CHURCHES.

Cathedral.—Organ case.

All Saints'.—Royal Arms.

St. Augustine's.—Panelling. Sword-rest. Royal Arms. Plaster work.

Christ Church.—Reredos. Altar. Altar rails. Font. Panels of pulpit. Sounding-board. Organ. Gallery (part). Pews and wainscot. Sword-rest. Iron bracket. Stays for candelabra.

St. John's.—Altar rails. Sword-rest. Royal Arms.

St. Martin's, Knowle.—Part of pulpit (from Christ Church).

St. Mary-le-Port.—Reredos. Altar rails. Lectern. Sword-rest. Pulpit. Royal Arms.

St. Mary Redcliffe.—Lectern. Iron screens and gates. Sword-rest (nineteenth century). Chandelier. Royal Arms.

St. Michael's.—Sword-rest.

St. Nicholas'.—Reredos. Organ case (fragment). Iron gates. Sword-rest. Candelabra and stays. Royal Arms. Plaster work.

St. Paul's.—Sword-rest.

St. Peter's.—Reredos. Altar rails. Organ. Candelabra. Royal Arms.

SS. Philip and Jacob.—Altar. Sword-rest. Royal Arms.

St. Stephen's.—Royal Arms.

St. Thomas's.—Reredos. Font. Font rails. Organ gallery. Organ case. Pulpit. Pews. Sword-rest. Royal Arms. Plaster work. Altar. Altar Rails.

St. Werburgh's.—Sword-rest.

Temple.—Reredos. Iron screens and gates. Sword-rest. Iron stay for candelabrum. Iron tracery of fanlight. Royal Arms.

SOME ANCIENT DEEDS

ILLUSTRATING THE DEVOLUTION OF AN ESTATE IN THE MANOR OF WALTON CARDIFF, NEAR TEWKESBURY, BETWEEN THE YEARS A.D. 1166 AND 1833.

By the Rev. E. R. DOWDESWELL, M.A.

This very interesting series of deeds and papers, numbering about one hundred, was collected by the late Mr. H. P. Moore, of Tewkesbury. It begins with a deed of Robert de Cardiff, who grants a tithe of hay on his Lordship of Walton to the monks of Tewkesbury, which deed is quoted word for word by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*, and is dated "temp. Abbatis Alani," 1182–1202.

Robert de Cardiff in this deed recites a promise made by his father William in his lifetime, which William de Kaerdiff held half a knight's fee in Walton under William Earl of Gloucester in 1166 (Liber-Niger). The series ends with the will of Miss Elizabeth Smithsend, who died in 1833. These deeds, therefore, cover a period of nearly seven hundred years.

As the story is likely to be a long one, I will only say further in preface that the family of Cardiff or Kerdiff, who first appear as landowners in Walton in 1166, also held the Manor of Queenhill in Worcestershire, and seems to have ended in heiresses at the close of the fourteenth century. They were succeeded by the Bassetts, probably through marriage with one of the heiresses, who remained in Walton till William Bassett sold it in 1545 to James Gunter, who sold it again in 1554 to Thomas Berrow, of Dore, and John Berrow sold it again to Nicholas Smithsend in 1577–8.

Perhaps I should add that the Manor of Walton was divided into two estates—the one held by the Kaerdiff family, who gave their name to the whole hamlet; the other by the monks of Tewkesbury, from 7 Richard II, 1383. Each of these moieties is frequently spoken of as the Manor of Walton, which has led to some confusion both in Atkyns and Fosbroke, which confusion our deeds help to clear up.

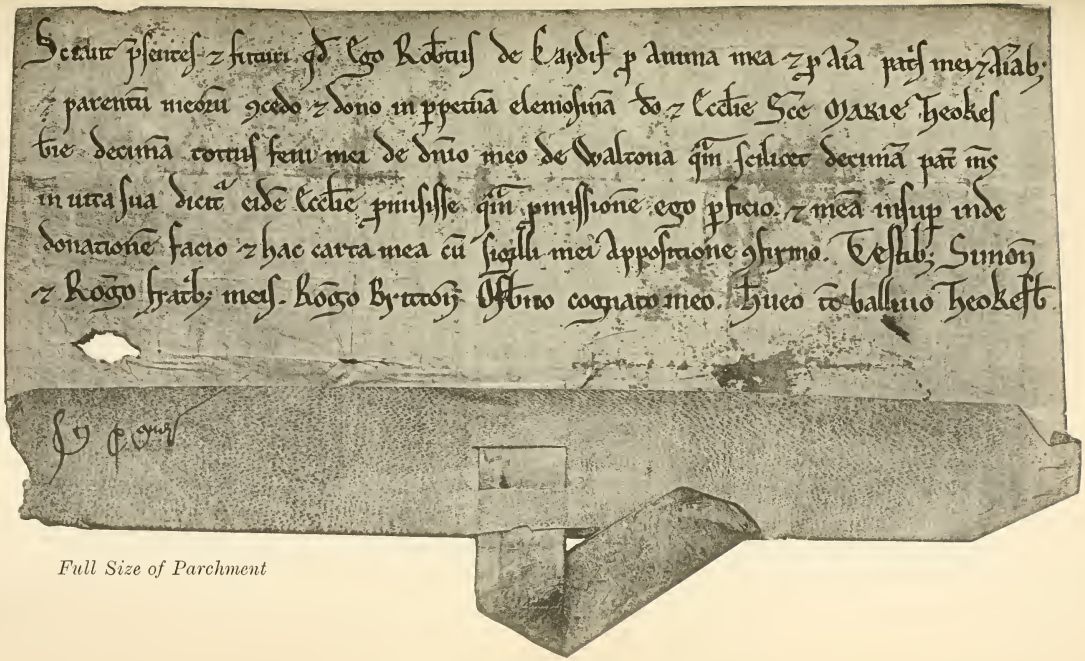
Without more preface, we will begin with—

No. I. In this deed Robert de Cardif (*sic*) gives the tithe of all his hay on his demesne at Walton to the Church of St. Mary at Tewkesbury, "which tithe, it is said, my father in his lifetime had promised to give to the same church, which promise I perform, and make the donation my own." His brothers Simon and Roger, Robert Britton and his kinsman Osbern, and Harvey, the Bailiff of Tewkesbury, are the witnesses.

As I have said above, this deed is quoted at length in Dugdale's *Monasticon* among the charters of Tewkesbury Abbey, and is there dated "temp. Abbatis Alani," 1182–1202. It is in perfect preservation, except that the seal is gone. The parchment is quite clean, and the writing as black as it was seven hundred years ago.

No. II. My next deed, which is also in perfect preservation, is by Sir William de Cardif, Kt., son of Robert, who quotes his father's deed (No. I.) word for word, and confirms the grant of the tithe of hay, but adds a grant of a right-of-way over his land to the monks for carrying the hay. His witnesses are Nicholas Pont, Robert and Mathew de Biseamton, Symon de Cardif, Cæcilia, my wife, and Robert Pistor. This deed is not dated, but must have been earlier than the next one, which is dated 1248.

No. III. recites that a controversy had arisen about the right-of-way, but that an amicable agreement had been come to, by which it was agreed that the monks should build a temporary bridge over the brook at the time of hay harvest, which was to be taken down by the Feast of the Holy Cross



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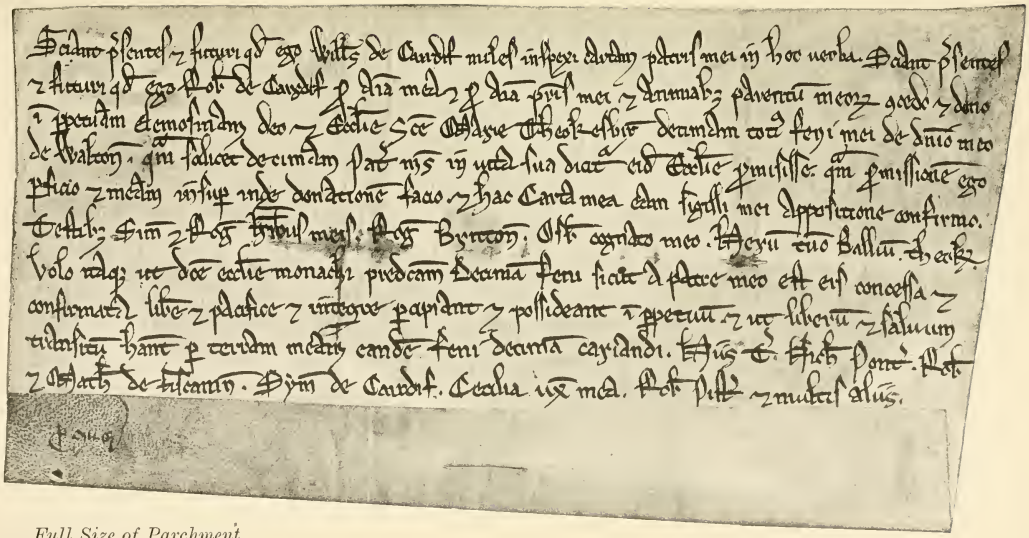
I. CHARTER OF ROBERT DE CARDIF, 1182-1202.



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II. CHARTER OF WILLIAM DE CARDIF, BEFORE 1248.

in September, and in return a right-of-way was granted to William de Kerdif (*sic*), "inter curiam dicti Willielmi, et boscum Suum de Walton." The witnesses are the Lord William de Bellocampo, William de la Mar, seneschal of the Earl of Gloucester, Gaufrid de Abetot, William de ?, Master William de Poywyk, Gaufrid de Derherst, and Patrick de Andrinton. It is dated 1248, about the Feast of St. Dyonysius the Martyr, October 3rd.

I have no more deeds of this family, but their succession at Walton can be fairly traced by the *inquisitiones post-mortem* of the Earls of Gloucester during the remainder of the thirteenth century down to William de Kerdiff, who died 5 Edward III, 1331–2, when he was seized of Queenhill and also of Walton. He left a widow, Joan, and also a daughter, Joan. One of these married Sir John de Wyncote. Fosbroke says it was the widow. I am inclined to think it was the daughter, who was born in 1317.

The inquisition at the death of William de Kerdiff, touching the Manor of Queenhill in 1331, declares that his next heir there was his *daughter* Joanna, who was aged 14 at the time of her father's death.

It is recorded in the inquisition on the death of Joan de Wyncote that she held the manor in her own demesne and in fee—directly of the king—by the service of one hound, which sounds more like a daughter and heir than a widow. She would have been aged 32 when she died in 1349.

Her next heirs are declared to be Elizabeth, aged 9, and Margaret, aged 11.

Elizabeth de Wyncote, daughter of Joan, died June 23rd, 1350, the very next year, a minor and unmarried, being a ward of the king.

At the inquisition it was declared that on the death of John and Joan de Wyncote, and of this Elizabeth, the next heirs were Margaret and Juetta, also daughters of the said Joan. They say that Margaret was aged 8 and Juetta 5 at this time. It will be noted that Margaret was said to be 11 at

her mother's death the year before, and Juetta's name appears now for the first time.

It seems, therefore, that William de Kerdiff had left Queenhill to his daughter Joan and her heirs, who in 1350 were two girls, Margaret and Juetta.

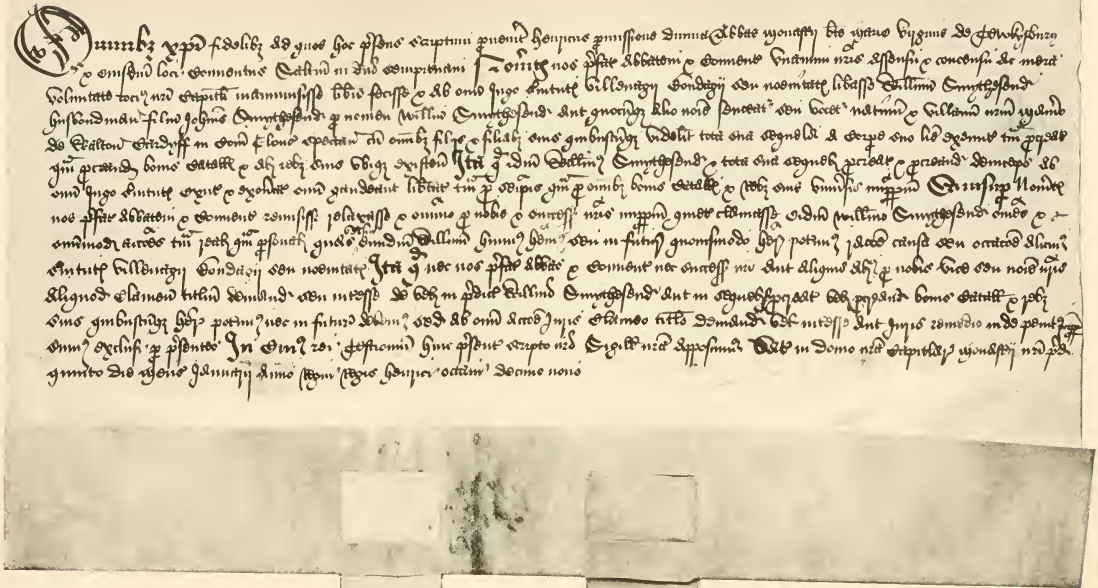
But this same William was also found by the inquisition at his death to be holding Walton as well as Queenhill, and Fosbroke assures us that he was succeeded there by his son Edward; but I cannot find in the inquisition that he left any son as his heir at Walton. On the other hand, there is no doubt that an Edward de Kerdif held both manors of Queenhill and Walton when he died in 1369.

But it is expressly stated at the inquisition that he did not hold Queenhill in capite of the king, but by the gift and concession of John Bander and Elizabeth his wife, and of Robert Underhill and Juetta his wife.

We can hardly doubt that this Juetta was the daughter of Joan de Wyncote, who was 5 years old in 1350, and was now 24. So that Edward de Kerdyf was a kinsman whom she enfeoffed at Queenhill. We might still suppose him to have been her mother's brother, but that the inquisition touching Walton states that he held Walton, not as the predecessors of the same name had done—as a tenant under the Earls of Gloucester—but again by the gift and concession of Juetta Underhill and others. This makes me think that this Edward de Kerdif was perhaps a cousin, but that he was not in the direct line as son and heir of Juetta's uncle.

This Edward had a son and heir named Paulinus, who was 20 years of age in 1369. I have not found that he was seized of Walton at all.

And this is the last of the Kerdifs of whom I have any record. For in the next reign, 20 Richard II, 1396, John Bassett dies September 6th, and is found to be seized of half the Manor of Queenhill, and Thomas his brother and next heir is 15 years old; while two years later Richard Ruyhale dies seized of half the Manor of Queenhill, which he held in common



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14" x 7"

tenure with Elizabeth his wife, and we bid good-bye to Queenhill in this connection for ever.

But Thomas Bassett, the brother of John, who was 15 in 1396, is found to be in possession of Walton, or rather a moiety of Walton, in 7 Henry V, 1419. Here we come back to my deeds.

No. VI. This is an agreement between Thomas Bassett and Elizabeth, his wife, with the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary's, Tewkesbury, to divide the Manor of Walton between them by exchange of several parcels of land.

All through these records the de Kerdifs had held only half a knight's fee under the Earls of Gloucester; the other half was held by William de Chesterton and others, who in 7 Richard II, 1383–4, granted it to the monks.

The Bassetts remained here from before 1419 till 1588, in which year William Bassett was lord of the manor, and John Bassett, probably his brother, was seneschal of the Manor of Walton.

No. VIII of my deeds is a copy of the Court Roll by which William Smithsend and Eleanor his wife held two acres of meadow in Turle Meadow there. This was in 21 Henry VIII, 1538. I shall return to the Smithsend family anon.

No. XA of my deeds is a conveyance by William Bassett, of Tempere, in co. Glamorgan, of all his lands in Walton Bassett and elsewhere to James Gunter, of London, and is dated 37 Henry VIII, 1545.

No. XI is his licence to alienate, dated 37 Henry VIII, 1545.

No. XII. James Gunter obtained licence to alienate this estate, 1 Philip and Mary, 1554, and sold it to Thomas Berrow, of Dore, and Margery his wife.

No. XIII is the actual deed of conveyance by James Gunter, of Marston, near Bergeveney, to Thomas Berrow, of Dore, and Margaret his wife, and is dated November 16th, 1554.

No. XV is a copy of the Court Roll of Walton when John

Berrow was lord of the manor, 6 Elizabeth, 1563. He was the son of Thomas Berrow. William Smithsend and Richard took a holding at this court.

No. XXIII. In 20 Elizabeth, 1577, John Berrow, of Dore, conveys to Nicholas Smithsend all his lands in Walton, and a licence to alienate was granted to him in that year.

But between 1554, when James Gunter sold Walton to Thomas Berrow, and 1577, when John Berrow sold it to Nicholas Smithsend, a curious complication had arisen, which cost the Berrows much trouble before they could show a good title.

No. XVIII is a demand made by the Court of the Exchequer upon John Berrow for arrears of rent for the moiety of the Manor of Walton Kardyff, due to the Crown for the last twenty-five years. It was alleged by the Crown that in 2 Edward VI., 1548, Sir Thomas Heneage, Kt., and Lord Willoughby, his grandson, had delivered the said lands to the king in exchange for certain other lands, but that the matter had never come before the auditor till this last year.

The issues and profits of the said lands were stated to be £21 10s. 0d. a year, and amounted to £559 10s. 0d. Poor John Berrow was attached, and had to appear before the court to defend himself. The demand was founded on a mistake, but must have greatly surprised him, for he had been in peaceful occupation of the land for twenty years.

In No. XXIVA John Berrow makes his petition to Right Hon. Sir W. Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, Sir Walter Myldemaye, Kt., Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other Barons of the Exchequer. He recites his answer before the court, in which he had shown that William Bassett had been seized of the said moiety of the manor, and being so seized had sold the same with all his lands in Walton or elsewhere to James Gunter, May 2nd, 37 Henry VIII, 1545, three years before Sir Thomas Heneage and Lord Willoughby are supposed to have conveyed it to the king. He then proceeds to show how James Gunter sold

it to Thomas Berrow, of Dore, and Margaret his wife, how Thomas Berrow died seized of it on August 6th, 1556, how Margaret died seized of it May 22nd, 1 Elizabeth, 1559, and "how the said Margaret did grant it unto your said orator by the name of John Berrow, her son," and he is ready to show in court the proofs of this assertion.

"And your said orator dothe by the same answer traverse and utterly deny that the said Sir Thomas Heneage and Lord Willoughby at the time of making said exchange or at any time before or after had any thing part or interest of in or to the said moiety, or did transfer unto the said King Edward VI, or that the said king was ever seized of the said moiety, or that the said moiety was ever of the value of xxi. x by the year. All which your said orator is ready to prove and he prays that he may be discharged of the said arrearages, and that he may continue his quiet possession of the said manor according to his lawful title. And further that the court shall call upon the Right Hon. Charles Lord Willoughby, who was son and heir of Elizabeth, who was daughter and sole heir of the said Sir Thomas Heneage, and against Dame Katherine Heneage, widow and sole executrix of the said Sir Thos, to show cause why they should not make recompense to the Queen's majesty according to the covenant made in their Indenture of Exchange."

No. XXII is the award of the court, dated February 6th, 20 Elizabeth, 1578, by which it is ordered, upon hearing both parties, viz. John Berrow and Charles, now Lord Willoughby, that a process of attachment shall be made against the heirs and executors of James Gunter to answer for £430 which he, the said James Gunter, had received from Sir Thomas Heneage and Lord Willoughby, deceased, for the moiety of the Manor of Walton Cardiff, which they bought of Gunter, and afterwards exchanged with King Edward VI, and which cannot be enjoyed by the present Queen by reason that the said Gunter made no good assurance thereof, but afterwards sold the same to one Thomas Berrow and Margaret his wife, and to their

heirs by whom the said John Berrow claimeth. And that the said Bearowe, now occupier of the premises, shall enjoy the same and be discharged of the arrearages thereof, etc., etc. And the sums to be put upon the said Charles, now Lord Willoughby, and the said John Bearowe is licensed to depart.

No. XXIII (?). Having obtained this decision in his favour, John Berrow proceeded to sell this estate, and did sell to Nicholas Smithsend all his lands and rights in Walton Cardiff in 1578.

One would have thought that this award of the Court of Exchequer would be final; but it appears that Lord Willoughby utterly ignored the order, with the result that the original charge for the arrears due to the Crown was kept in the books of the Court of Exchequer, and that year by year an additional rent of £21 10s. was added to the amount due; so that in the year 1653, notwithstanding the order of the court in 20 Elizabeth, a new demand was made on the occupiers of the moiety of the Manor of Walton Cardiff, their lands were again seized, and they had again to plead their cause before the Court of the Exchequer, nearly one hundred years after the land had been sold to Thomas Berrowe by James Gunter.

No. LXII. In this deed we have the second award of the court, which, reciting the history of the case, finally decides not only that the said seizure should be discharged out of the sheriff's accompt, but likewise that the further process hereafter should be awarded against the said lands in Walton Cardiff, which from henceforth are absolutely to be discharged by virtue of the said order, and the charges be continued upon the said Lord Willoughby and his own proper lands according to the former order.

Whether Lord Willoughby ever paid the amount due, or whether he was able to recover the same from James Gunter and his heirs, does not appear among our records; but that James Gunter sold the estate twice over, and received the purchase-money from both purchasers, seems to be clearly

proved. But the Berrows could show their title, and Lord Willoughby could not do so. Henceforth we hear no more of the dispute. The Smithsends enjoyed their estate in peace, and it descended from father to son in the direct line from 1578, when Nicholas Smithsend bought it from John Berrowe, till Elizabeth Smithsend died at Walton House in 1833.

Let us now turn our attention to the family of Smithsend, who had acquired the estate from the Berrowes, and who for more than two hundred years added field to field to their possessions in Walton and the neighbourhood.

Nicholas Smithsend, who had bought from John Berrowe his estate at Walton, was probably a grandson of William Smithsend, who fifty years before had been legally a serf to the Abbot of Tewkesbury.

Our readers are probably aware that after the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt in the middle of the fourteenth century the serfs and the villans had practically gained their freedom. By degrees the villans had become copyholders, and their customary services had been commuted for a money rent, while the serfs had become hired labourers. And in process of time the more thrifty of these were in a position to buy from the king and the great landowners their freedom, not only from compulsory service, but from any legal disability to hold land of their own. We may take it that by the beginning of the sixteenth century there were numbers of husbandmen who, though they were comparatively wealthy, were still in the eye of the law serfs, not having been formally manumitted.

Among these was Nicholas Smithsend, the son of William, who in the year 1528 was manumitted by the Abbot of Tewkesbury.

No. IX of my deeds is the deed of manumission, and as this may probably be one of the latest examples of such a transaction it may be of interest if I give the tenor of the deed :—

" Henry, by divine permission Abbot of the Monastery of

St. Mary the Virgin, of Tewkesbury, and the convent of the same, by unanimous consent by their mere will (and not, apparently, for any money payment), manumitted and set free, and released from all yoke of servitude, villenage, bondage or *noemtatis,?* William Smithsend, husbandman, son of John Smithsend, by the name of William Smithsend, or whatever other name he may be known or called by, a native and villan of our Manor of Walton Cardyff, with all his sons and daughters whatsoever, and all his progeny[1] lawfully begotten or to be begotten, his goods and chattels, and all other things, wheresoever they be; so that the said William Smithsend and all his belongings may go forth from under the yoke of servitude and rejoice in liberty, both for themselves and all their goods, etc., for ever," etc., etc.

It is dated at the Chapter House on the 5th day of January, 19 Henry VIII, 1528.

Being thus emancipated from all technical disability, he at once applied to the lord of the manor, William Bassett, in the very same year, 1528, and with Eleanor, his wife, and Richard, their son and heir, is entered on the Court Roll as tenant of two tenements and fifty-two acres of land, namely two acres of meadow, one in Turle Meadow and the other in Lechymere, and fifty acres of arable in Walton Field, paying therefor 39s. per annum, and a heriot when it falls due.

Thus he who was so recently released from a state of bondage became a freeman and a copyholder; but as we shall see in the sequel (if the editor can find room for another article), it was not till 1577, when John Berrow sold the manor, that Nicholas Smithsend became Lord of the Manor of Walton Kerdiff, where his grandfather William had lived as a serf fifty years before.

[1] *Sequelæ:* "Dicitur de pullis equinis vitulinis aliisque animalibus quæ matrem sequuntur" (Ducange). "Issue of a *nativus* or bondman."—Martin, The Record *Interpreter*. Used in this connection with a sense of contempt.

I.—CHARTER OF ROBERT DE CARDIF, 1182–1202.

SCIANT presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Cardif pro anima mea et pro anima patris mei et animabus parentum meorum concedo et dono in perpetuam elemosinam Deo et ecclesiæ Sce Mariæ Theokesberiæ decimam totius feni mei de dominio meo de Waltona quam scilicet decimam pater meus in vita sua dicitur eidem ecclesiæ promisisse quam promissionem ego perficio et meam insuper inde donationem facio et hac carta mea cum sigilli mei appositione confirmo.

Testibus Simone et Rogerio fratribus meis Rogerio Britton Osberno cognato meo Herveo ? tunc ballivo de Theokesberiæ.

II.—CHARTER OF WILLIAM DE CARDIF, BEFORE 1248.

SCIANT presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Cardif miles inspexi cartam patris mei in hec verba. (Charter No. I quoted *verbatim*.) Volo itaque ut dictæ ecclesiæ monachi predictam decimam feni sicut a patre meo est eis concessa et confirmata libere et pacifice et integre percipiant et possideant in perpetuum et ut liberum et salvum transitum habeant per terram meam eandem feni decimam cariandi.

Hiis Testibus Nich: Pont: Rob: et Matth: de bisamton ? Symon de Cardif. Cecilia uxore mea. Robert the baker, and many others.

III.—MANUMISSION OF WILLIAM SMITHSEND, 1528.

Omibus Xto fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit Henricus permissione Divina abbas monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Tewksbury et ejusdem loci conventus Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Noveritis nos prefatum abbatem et conventum unamini nostro assensu consensu de mera voluntate totius nostri capituli Manumisisse liberum fecisse et ab omni jugo servitutis Villenagii Bondagii seu *noemtatis?* liberasse Willielmum Smythsend husbondman filium Johannis Smythsend per nomen Willielmum Smythsend aut quocumque

alio nomine sentjatur seu vocetur, nativum et villanum nostrum manerio de Walton Cardyff in Com: Glouc: spectatum cum omnibus filiis et filiabus suis quibuscumque videlicit tota sua sequela a corpore suo licite exeuntibus tam procreatis quam procreandis bonis catallis et aliis rebus suis quibuscumque existendibus. Ita quod idem Willielmus Smythsend et tota sua sequela procreata et procreanda deinceps ab omni jugo servitutis exeant et exeuntes omni gaudeant libertate tam pro seipsis quam pro omnibus bonis catallis et rebus suis universis inperpetuum. Et insuper noveritis nos prefatum abbatum et conventum remisisse relaxasse et omnino pro nobis et succesoribus nostris in perpetuum quietum clamasse eidem Willielmo Smythsend omnes et omnimodo actiones tam reales quam personales quas versus eundem Willielmum habuimus habemus seu in futuro quovismodo haberi poterimus rationem causam seu occasionem alicujus servitutis Villenagii Bondagii seu *noemtatis?* Ita quod nec nos prefatus abbas et Conventus nec successores nostri aut aliquis alius pro nobis vice seu nomine nostro, aliquod clamorem titulum demandam seu interesse de vel in predictum Willielmum Smythsend aut in sequelas procreatas vel procreandas bonis catallis et rebus suis quibuscumque habere poterimus nec in futuro debemus sed ab omni actione juris clamore titulo demanda vel interesse aut juris remedio inde pervenerit feoffamentum omnino exclusi per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto nostro Sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Datum in Domo nostro capitulari monasterii nostri predicti, quinto die mensis Januarii Anno Regni Regis Henrici octavi decimo nono.

Notices of Publications.

CALENDAR OF THE CHARTERS, etc., of the City and County of Bristol. Compiled by the late JOHN LATIMER. Printed under the authority of the Corporation of Bristol by W. C. Hemmons, St. Stephen Street. 1909. 7s. 6d.

The late Mr. John Latimer, the centuriator of Bristol history, compiled a manuscript book relating to the charters and other documents concerning the city which he presented to the Corporation; it was accepted by them on July 14th, 1903, and an order was made that it should be published. Mr. Latimer then prepared another copy for the press, and he was engaged in working on this revised copy when he passed away. It is this second copy which is now issued by the Corporation, and it has been passed through the press under the care of Alderman Barker, Chairman of the Museum and Art Gallery Committee of the City Council, who has written an introductory note to the work, and has added an abstract of the charters with an index to the pages on which each occurs.

It must be noted first of all that this is not a book of texts of charters; it contains no texts at all, though it does contain some translations. It is a book about the charters and other documents which are dealt with in it. For our knowledge of the Bristol charters themselves we are still dependent on the translation of 1736 and the edition published by the Rev. Samuel Seyer in 1812. His edition, as he tells us, was take from the Charter of Confirmation granted by Charles II on April 22nd, 1664, in which all the earlier charters, except one relating to the city of Dublin, are recited. He could do no better, because an application made by him in March, 1810, to examine the original documents in the possession of the Corporation was refused. As 1910 is the centenary of the refusal, it would be a gracious act on the part of the Corporation, and one most helpful to all those who are interested in the history of our city, if they would mark 1912, the centenary of the publication of Seyer's work, by the publication of a book of accurate texts of the city charters and other documents of interest. Or if this would be too costly, even an accurate reprint of the text of the charter of April, 1664, would be helpful. As matters are at present, no one who

is working on the ancient history of the city can feel that he is standing on sure ground.

The method of the present work is to take the various documents in chronological order and to give a short account of their purpose and scope, and it may be said at once that the work is very thoughtfully and carefully done. It seems to be by no means easy, however, to lead to a right understanding of the Domesday entries relating to Bristol. Roger f. Ralph and not Seuuin held Clifton in 1086, though Sevvin *propositus* had held it in King Edward's time. It is by no means unlikely that this Seuuin was Swegen, son of Earl Godwin, who certainly ruled over an earldom which contained Bristol from 1043 to 1046, and again from mid-Lent, 1050, to September, 1051, and who had prepared a ship at Bristol in which his brethren, Harold and Leofwine, escaped to Ireland at the time last mentioned. The title *propositus*, of course, would not represent his dignity, but his connection with Bristol had ceased nearly forty years before the date of Domesday, and the Conqueror's scribes might not be particular with regard to the exact titles to be ascribed to a son of Godwin. It would be likely enough that Swegen might separate off the part of the Manor of Bristol which commanded the entrance to the port that he might hold it more closely in his own hands ; much as Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, held a part of Bedminster in 1086, no doubt that he might control the passage over the Avon. There is really no difficulty about the Domesday entry concerning Bristol, though counsel has been darkened by many words about it in the past. The royal Manor of Bitton immediately to the east of it contained some 8973 acres, and was rated at one night's ferm. The Royal Manor of Barton by Bristol contained about 8693 acres, and paid £101 6s. 8d. The night's ferms of Somerset had all been commuted for money payments varying from £100 10s. 9½d. to £106 0s. 10d. ; and it would seem that the render from the country Manor of Bitton remained as it had been in old times, while that of the Manor of Barton, which contained a flourishing town population, had been commuted for a money payment. But there is nothing in the entry to show that there was any apportionment between the town and country portions of the manor of the three sums into which the payment was divided ; the settlement at the bridge-head was simply a part of the manor on which the population lay most thickly, and it was as yet in no way separated from the rest.

Passing to the charters, Mr. Latimer has rightly brought back the date of the earliest of these from 1164 to 1155. He might have fixed the date somewhat more exactly. The charter was granted at Salisbury, and Henry II was in that city at some time between July and September in 1155.[1] Mr. Latimer seems to assume with Seyer that the right to

[1] Eyton, *Itinerary of King Henry II*, *p.* 12.

elect a mayor was granted to the men of Bristol by charter, which charter is now lost. But it is by no means clear that this was so. No charter granting the right of electing a mayor to the citizens of London can be discovered. A *commune* was granted to London in October, 1191, and a Mayor of London appears in the spring of 1193,[1] but nothing is extant which shows how he came into being. The fact is that the early lists of the borough officers of Bristol vary so much among themselves that too much reliance should not be placed on them. The list of mayors has been pushed back one year in quite recent times, and it would afford no matter for surprise if a Mayor of Bristol should appear in any year after 1193. Mr. Latimer should not have quoted Ricart's rhetorical flourish "that there hath been alweyes Maires in this worshipfull toune seth the conquest, and byfore,"[2] without exposing its absurdity. The *Tina* mentioned in the Beer charter of 1230 was a cask, tun or tub, the contents of which were due from each brewing to the Constable of the Castle; the charter secures that the vessel should be of a reasonable size. One-tenth of the book is occupied by an account of the rebellion of 1312-16; it is curious that Mr. Latimer makes no reference to the very valuable paper on this subject in our *Transactions* (xix, 171–278), by the Rev. E. A. Fuller. Mr. Latimer's account is helpful if used in connection with Seyer's volume ii, chapter xiv, because it contains references to a number of documents among the Close and Patent Rolls which were not used by the older author. Mr. Fuller's paper is a mine of information with regard to the taxation of the town in the early part of the fourteenth century, The charter of 1373, creating the County of Bristol, had an unwelcome result in that in 1392 all persons who possessed real property to the annual value of £40 were required to apply for the honour of knighthood; but no one would own to so large an income from real property, the reason being apparently given in answer to a similar demand in 1410, that owing to voids, repairs, fires, and other detriments no one possessed an assured income of that amount. In 1631, however, Charles I netted £621 by a similar demand. In 1403, such was the dignity of the Mayor of Bristol, that though esquires and meaner persons were forbidden to wear gowns trimmed with costly furs, the Mayors of London, York and Bristol were specially exempted from this regulation, Coming events cast their shadows before, and some five centuries later the chief magistrate of Bristol outgrew the title by which his predecessors for nearly seven centuries had been known, and became a Lord Mayor like the other two.

With regard to the fact that the Corporation were called upon to pay £66 13s. 4d. in 1577 for the chapels and reserved rents belonging to the almshouses of the Holy Trinity and the Three Kings of Cologne,

1 Round, *The Commune of London*, p. 235. 2 Ricart's *Kalendar*, p. 69.

it is to be noted that in the same year the Vestry of St. Thomas the Martyr were victimised in a similar way. In 1535 Maude Jubbe, widow, of Long Ashton, left a house in Temple Street to feoffees to provide a chaplain for the hospital on Redcliff Hill, who should say mass there twice every week, the residue of the income to provide for the repairs of St. Thomas's Church. In 1577 the vestry were called upon to pay 30s. in discharge of the queen's claim on the chaplaincy, and on September 15th, 1579, the property was conveyed to them by the Queen's Letters Patent, forty-four years after Maude Jubbe had given it to them; it may be fairly presumed that somebody must have made something out of the transaction, especially as possession was not finally taken by feoffees for the church till February 11th, 1583.

Mr. Latimer has done good service by drawing attention to the attempts which were made at different times to withdraw the Parliamentary franchise from the great body of burgesses, and to confine it to a small number of leading citizens. The writ of 1283 simply ordered the Mayor and Bailiffs of Bristol to cause two of the wisest and most suitable citizens to be chosen, and there can be little doubt that from the beginning the choice had rested, at least in name, with the whole commonalty of the borough, as a statute of 1413 declares had been the custom in boroughs generally. But in 1429 the franchise was confined by statute in shires to forty-shilling freeholders. Now Bristol had been made a shire in 1373, and in 1447 a writ was issued for the election of burgesses to be made "by the majority of men dwelling in the county, who have a freehold of forty shillings a year at the least," and an election took place under this restricted franchise by thirty-four freeholders, whose names are given. The two members elected, however, only received "wages" at the rate of borough members, and not at the double rate of knights of the shire. It would seem that the freemen had recovered the franchise by 1571, but in 1625 the Corporation resolved that by "ancient and laudable custom" the franchise was confined to themselves and the freeholders. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to limit the franchise in 1664, when the Corporation applied for a renewal of their charters, but until 1831 the Bristol franchise rested with the freemen representing the borough, the freeholders representing the county, and the clergy after 1664, when the Convocations surrendered the right of taxation of the spiritualty. It was a popular franchise. The Reform Bill of 1832 did not greatly increase the constituency in Bristol, and the riots in 1831 were not the outcome of any real local grievance, but as far as can be learned now the result of agitation from outside the city working on the unpopularity of the Recorder.

In 1499 Henry VII granted a charter by which the government of the borough was placed in the hands of an oligarchy, for the appoint-

ment of the members of the Common Council was entrusted to the mayor and two aldermen. It is singular that though the attempts to narrow the Parliamentary franchise, and to take the government of the borough out of the hands of the commonalty failed, although they had at some periods the power of the Crown behind them, in church matters the system of government by the few prevailed; for though the vestries of the ancient city churches are now all close, consisting only of those parishioners who have served the office of churchwarden, there is no doubt that these vestries were originally open, as the vestries of country parishes are now. External authority was, in this case at any rate, on the whole in favour of popular liberty. A somewhat similar attempt to restrict the liberty of trade also failed. In 1552 the Merchant Venturers obtained a charter from the advisers of Edward VI restricting trafficking in merchandise to members of the Society or to those who had been apprenticed to a resident merchant, which charter was confirmed by Queen Elizabeth in 1566. In the following year an Act was passed enacting that any Bristolian, except those above-mentioned, who should traffic over sea should forfeit all the goods he either exported or imported. This, of course, forbade all private ventures, such as Dick Whittington's cat, in which many citizens had been accustomed to take part. The commonalty rose in their might, and as the pockets of those members of the Corporation who did not belong to the Society of merchants were also touched, the dignitaries made common cause with the multitude, and when the next Parliament met in 1571 this restrictive Act was, after some difficulty, repealed. Mr. Latimer's book will do much good by recording the failure of these various attempts to encroach on the rights and liberties of the free burgesses, the last relic of which restrictions came to an end when the old self-elected Corporation ceased to exist in 1835. It does not appear that its extinction caused many regrets.

With regard to the acquisition of Durdham Down, Mr. Latimer might have mentioned the purchase of the two small houses on Stoke Hill with common rights on the Down attached, by which the Corporation obtained a hold over the Down, and were enabled through the possession of rights as commoners to put a stop to any further encroachments on the common land. The book closes with the grant of the charter to the University of Bristol in 1909, seven hundred and fifty-four years after Henry II had granted the first extant charter to the borough in which he had been educated. The interval is a long one, and Mr. Latimer's book is most interesting and valuable as telling the story how chartered rights and the development of custom tended not only to the growth of prosperity and the observance of civic law, but also on the whole to ordered liberty for the great body of the inhabitants of the borough.

Anyone who had thoroughly mastered the meaning and purpose of the documents contained in the book would have gone some considerable way into the study of English borough history. One thing jars: we are told many times over that a document escaped the notice of Seyer. Of course it did, for the reason that the Corporation or an official of the Corporation, would not permit him to examine the records of the city. If the permission for which he asked had been granted, the men of Bristol would have possessed, for nearly a century, what they do not possess even now—a trustworthy edition of the city charters. The Corporation has given us a calendar, let us hope that before three years are over they will give us a book of the texts to which the calendar refers. It only remains to say that the book is an excellent example of a Bristol printer's work.

THE MEDIÆVAL HOSPITALS OF ENGLAND. By ROTHA MARY CLAY. With a Preface by THE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL. London: Methuen & Co. 1909. 7s. 6d.

THE word "hospital" is used in its broader sense of any houses for wayfarers, sick, aged and infirm, insane and leprous persons, which were founded before 1547, and not simply in the more modern sense of houses for the sick only. The subject has not received the attention which it deserved, partly, no doubt, on account of its greatness and complexity. Miss Clay thinks that there were as many as seven hundred and fifty of these establishments in England, and the compilation of an account of them must have proved no easy task. A few of them, like St. Cross at Winchester and St. Mark's on St. Augustine's Green at Bristol, were wealthy foundations, but most of them were small, founded by comparatively unknown people, housing comparatively few inmates, and possessing but a slight endowment. Not a few of them, like the friars' houses, possessed no endowment at all: but their inmates, like the friars, were dependent entirely on the alms of their wealthier neighbours. Burton's Almshouse, for instance, the oldest now existing in Bristol, which certainly existed in 1385, and which was probably founded about 1292, possesses no endowment which is older than 1523. The work of the writer of the book, therefore, must have consisted of a search, which must often have been toilsome, over a very wide area, among things which in themselves were indefinitely little, but each of which testified to loving care and generous thought for poor and afflicted people in days now for the most part long gone by. And so it is that the words of the Bishop's preface are thoroughly well earned: "The mass of the material collected is remarkable. As a book of reference for

readers and writers, this treatise on the mediæval hospitals of England ought to hold a distinguished place." The book represents the outcome of honest work for several years; there are no marks of padding or spinning out themes threadbare; on the contrary, the real difficulty has been to compress into the number of pages allotted a mass of material more than ample for the purpose. As the Bishop of Bristol remarks, few people realise the part which the hospitals played in the social life of the earlier Middle Ages. Take, for instance, the development of the little borough of Redcliff, consisting of the two existing parishes of St. Mary Redcliff and St. Thomas the Martyr. Its first charter was granted by Henry II about 1164; the Church of St. Mary existing before that date, and that of St. Thomas founded between 1170 and 1200, the finest churches in Bristol, as each of its own kind is now, amply provided for the spiritual needs of the people. Then began the provision for their temporal needs.

In 1207 Lord Robert of Berkeley granted a spring of water at Knowle from which a supply was carried to Redcliff Hill, at the request of William Chaplain of Redcliff. About 1219 Lord Thomas of Berkeley founded a hospital for leprous women at Brightbow on the very edge of the borough. About the same time Lord Robert of Berkeley founded a hospital of St. Katherine for women, and about 1242 the Hospital of St. John in Redcliff Pit was founded; later on there followed the almshouses of Simon de Burton in St. Thomas's Parish, and another on Redcliff Hill. There was evident system in all this. First spiritual needs were met, then a supply of good water was obtained, and then in turn the wants of the sick and poor and needy were duly met. All these things had an ecclesiastical connection: the Church was the great organising power of the period, and it was through the energy and guidance of the Church that each want of the community was provided for.

Miss Clay begins her book with an account of "Hospitals for Wayfarers." Such was very probably, at any rate in part, Foster's Almshouse of the Three Kings of Cologne at Bristol, founded in 1492. The title is said to have been suggested by the Abbot of Tewkesbury, who may possibly have paid a recent visit to the shrines of the Three Kings, and of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, in the city on the Rhine. It would appear, however, that the practice of pilgrimage degenerated, till it became little better than vagrancy, and the welcome of which the pious wayfarer was sure in earlier days passed into the whipcord which the men of Gloucester provided for the sturdy beggar of Reformation times. Yet again, though no doubt pilgrims were a source of profit to houses which possessed famous shrines, the pilgrims were by no means always lodged gratuitously. Even the Abbot of Glastonbury, though he received you, as he was bound to do, took you in as a paying

guest in the lodging which many of us know as "The George" at Glastonbury. No doubt this was needful, for, as Southey has told, the purposes of pilgrimage were many and various, and according to Baedeker, even the Canons of St. Bernard lose heavily on account of the hospitality which they are bound to keep at the present day.

The chapters on lepers and leper-houses are especially well worked out. This terrible affliction seems to have touched the sympathics and drawn out the charity of good folk more than any other, and leper-houses abounded. There were two in Bristol alone, one, St. Lawrence's Hospital, on the edge of Kingswood Forest, and the other on the Somerset side at Brightbow. Towards the end of the period covered by the book, however, the disease had practically died out, some of the houses passed to decay, many lodged sick and infirm folk generally, and some were diverted to other purposes, as Edward IV gave St. Lawrence's Hospital to the College of Westbury-on-Trym. The difference of the station in life of founders and benefactors is very striking. Kings and queens, great ecclesiastics, and, especially towards the end of the period, merchants and tradesfolk in the towns, would leave a mark behind them by providing for the poor and needy. There are chapters on the management of the household, of care of the body and of the soul, and of the funds of the community; and then at last the decline of the hospitals and the effect upon them of the dissolution of the religious houses are dealt with. The chapter on the decline of the hospitals is not pleasant reading; they seem to have suffered at first chiefly from having inmates thrust upon them by persons in authority, but afterwards they suffered, as the greater religious houses suffered, from the neglect, or incompetence or wastefulness of their rulers; and there seems to be little doubt that by the end of the period dealt with many of them were in a poor plight.

With regard to the dissolution of the religious houses and chantries, the almshouses were commonly left untouched; but if there were an endowment for a chaplain, that was commonly confiscated, a connection with a guild was only too often fatal, while hospitals directly dependent on a dissolved monastery shared the fate of the parent house, and hospitals directly under the care of a municipal body usually survived. But there is no doubt that partly as a result of direct plunder, and partly in consequence of the unsettlement of the times, many hospitals ceased to exist under Henry VIII and Edward VI. There is a short chapter on the patron saints of the hospitals, and the book closes with a list of nearly eight hundred foundations, arranged under counties, showing the locality, dedication, approximate date of foundation, founder and patron of each house. There are some thirty well-executed pictures, for the most part representing ancient hospitals, and finally there is a full and well-arranged index.

Miss Clay has driven a broad and easy way through a region that has been little traversed hitherto, and those who may desire to work out more fully the history of the hospitals in their own districts will find a good and sure beginning laid down for them, and outlines marked out clearly and plainly, wherein they may fit in fresh details.

Our Society has already left a good mark on this series of "Antiquary's Books," and this book on mediæval hospitals by one of our members may be taken as a clear sign that it is continuing to do efficiently the work for which it was founded.

THE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WESTBURY AND THE VICAR OF HENBURY, with the Terms of Settlement in A.D. 1463. By H. J. WILKINS, D.D. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1909. 6d.

THE LETTERS PATENT OF KING EDWARD VI granting Henbury Manor and Church, etc., to Sir Ralph Sadleir. By H. J. WILKINS, D.D. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1909. 1s. 6d.

SOME CHAPTERS IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF WESTBURY-ON-TRYM. By H. J. WILKINS, D.D. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1909. 2s.

THESE three pamphlets are further instalments of the very interesting series of little books which the Vicar of Westbury-on-Trym is engaged in publishing on the history of the church and parish of which he is in charge. The essential portion of the first pamphlet is a decision by Bishop Carpenter at the College of Westbury with regard to a dispute which had arisen between the Dean and Canons of Westbury and the Vicar of Henbury concerning tithes due from lands which were formerly ploughed and cultivated, but which had been reduced to pasture. The Bishop recites that Henbury Church had been in former times appropriated to Westbury College, and he confirms this appropriation. He then proceeds to set forth in full detail the emoluments of the vicarage of all kinds, as well as the charges upon it, and he orders that every Vicar of Henbury at the time of his institution shall make oath that he will keep the ordinance thus laid down, and that in case the vicar does not do so the institution shall be of no effect, and the nomination to the vicarage for that turn shall belong to the Bishop. This ordinance was made at the College of Westbury on September 15th, 1463, it was ratified by the Dean and Canons in Chapter on the following day, and it received the assent of the Vicar of Henbury two days later. The document is one of very considerable interest, because it sets forth in very full detail what was considered to be a suitable endowment for the vicar of a very extensive parish, with several chapels, hamlets and tithings, about the end of the fifteenth century.

With regard to the subject-matter of the dispute, it is evident that the change in cultivation of land which was taking place all over England had extended to Henbury, and that land which had been under the plough was being laid down in pasture. This was, of course, disadvantageous to the college, who as rectors were entitled to the great tithes of grain, and was beneficial to the vicar, who was endowed with the small tithes and offerings. The college, therefore, claimed that they were entitled to the tithes arising from land which had been arable even after it was reduced to pasture, and of course this claim was resisted by the vicar, so that, as the good Bishop said, "the Dean and Chapter and the Vicar, and in all likelyhood their successors, are set upon having lawsuits, strifes, quarrels and contentions over these payments." The Bishop's decision took the form of a compromise: the vicar and his successors should have tithe of all pastures throughout the parish, and of the stock grazing thereon, and they should pay to the Dean and Chapter every Easter 13s. 4d. This was, of course, unjust to the vicar, for he was evidently entitled to tithe from all land lying in pasture, and, moreover, the 13s. 4d. would remain as a charge on the living, even if the pastureland was put again under the plough. But in old days kissing sometimes went by favour, and in a dispute between a college of which the bishop was patron and a vicar, it was likely that the poor vicar would play the part of the earthen pot. The name of the vicar is given as William *Vance*, but it would seem not at all unlikely that he is the same person with William *Vauce*, who was afterwards Dean of Westbury, and who died in 1478.

The copy of Bishop Carpenter's award was granted from the Diocesan Registry at Worcester on September 1st, 1577, at the request of Richard Dawke, Mercer, of Worcester, and Dr. Wilkins asks reasonably enough what he had to do with the matter. Looking at the date, 1577, and remembering that it was in that year that the Corporation of Bristol had to pay for the chaplaincies of the Hospitals of the Holy Trinity and The Three Kings of Cologne, and the Vestry of St. Thomas the Martyr had to pay for the chaplain originally supported by Maude Jubbe's Charity, it seems likely that the copy was taken out of the Registry on the chance of its revealing some "concealed church lands." If this were so, it is satisfactory to know that Mr. Dawke can have got nothing back to repay the cost of his copy.

As we have seen, Henry VIII had granted to Sir Ralph Sadleir the site of the College of Westbury, and a large estate belonging to various religious houses, and that beneficiary proceeded to extract from the advisers of Edward VI, within six months of the accession of that sovereign, a huge portion more from the rapidly diminishing stock

of abbey lands. The Church and Manor of Henbury, Stoke Bishop, Pen Park and Olveston, in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and very large estates elsewhere, were included in this grant. The property at Henbury and Stoke Bishop had belonged to the See of Worcester, and was surrendered to the Crown by Bishop Heath soon after the accession of Edward VI. The document is of very considerable local interest, but does not otherwise differ from other grants of the like kind.

The *Chapters in the Ecclesiastical History of Westbury-on-Trym* are on the following subjects: (1) The Desecration of Bishop Carpenter's Tomb. (2) Decay of the College Buildings. (3) Dispersion of Church Lands. (4) Alienation of Tithes. (5) Sale of the Living. And the record is enough to make the blood boil of any one who, like the writer of these lines, lived for many years in the old parish. Bishop Carpenter was a native of Westbury. He was Provost of Oriel from 1425 to 1443, and in the last-mentioned year he became Chancellor of the University of Oxford. On March 22nd, 1444, he was consecrated to the See of Worcester, and he resigned the See shortly before his death in 1476. He was buried under the High Altar of the Church of Westbury, which he loved so well, which he had so nobly endowed and so tastefully enlarged, in a small crypt chapel, and a beautiful altar-tomb was set up on the south side of the chancel. At some unknown period the little chapel was built up, its very existence was forgotten, and the tomb was ruthlessly smashed. In 1851 it was thought desirable that the church should be warmed, and the newly-discovered chapel was utilised as a hot-air chamber, the actual tomb of the Bishop being used as a store-house for fuel. It is true that probably the restorers knew not what they did, for it was believed that the Bishop had been buried in the altar-tomb, but it is difficult to find excuse for placing a hot-air chamber under the altar. The present condition of the Bishop's tomb is pictured opposite to page 17, and it in no way represents the "beauty of holiness." But there were those in Westbury who loved the church, among whom must be numbered the old clerk, who having been a mason, made a head for the statue of Bishop Carpenter above the western door; and the Provost and Fellows of Oriel restored the altar-tomb in 1853.

The next three chapters, on the "Decay of the College Buildings," the "Dispersion of the Church Lands," and "Alienation of Tithes," are rather of local interest; but the last chapter, on the "Sale of the Living," sets forth the seamy side of the patronage system of the Church of England at its very worst. After the dissolution of the college the stipend of the curate was but £10 annually, paid by the impropriator of the great tithes, which were worth £100. In 1719 Edward Colston and Thomas Edwards gave the sum of £200 for the increase of the value of the benefice, which

being augmented by other benefactors and by a grant from Queen Anne's Bounty, amounted in all to £420, and that amount was laid out in the purchase of land in Henbury Marsh to the value of £20 annually. So that till 1790 the Curacy of Westbury was worth little more than £40 a year without a house.

In 1743 Mr. John Cossins completed the very beautiful little classic church known as Redland Chapel, and proceeded to endow it with an excellent house and land in the neighbourhood. The chapel, however, was not consecrated, and as, of course, no clergyman could minister in it without the consent of the Vicar of Westbury, after very serious disputes it was arranged in 1790 that the advowson of the chapel should be annexed to that of the parish, and that the presentation to the living should belong alternately to the patrons of the parish church and of Redland Chapel. Thus there grew up two separate lines of presentation —that of the patrons of Westbury Church, represented by Mr. Broughton, appointed to the vicarage in 1797, Mr. Carrow in 1810, and Dr. Wilkins, the present vicar, in 1900; and that of the trustees of Redland Chapel, represented by Mr. Edwards, appointed in 1790, Mr. Baker in 1804, and Mr. Cartwright in 1847.

In 1869 the Advowson of the Westbury turn of presentation was sold for £1,000 to a gentleman living in Clifton, who placed it in the hands of a body of trustees whose church principles would be known as *High*, and in 1901 the Advowson of the Redland Chapel turn was sold for £1,000 to a body of trustees whose proclivities would be commonly known as *Low*. Now Westbury-on-Trym is certainly the most important parish in Bristol, whether regard be had to the dignity of the church, the beauty of the fabric, or the number of the population and the character of the residents; and though the trustees of both the turns of the presentation are men of good position and high character, it is certainly a scandal, which could probably occur in no other church in Christendom, that the character of the teaching should be determined from time to time merely by the payment of sums of money. Dr. Wilkins expresses an earnest hope that these very diverse rights of presentation will be exercised with good sense and discretion, and he also expresses a well-founded conviction that if matters were pressed to extremity by either set of patrons, the parishioners of Westbury-on-Trym would know very well how to defend themselves. Truly the ecclesiastical history of the parish since 1544 is an object-lesson in the art of how not to do it. Dr. Wilkins deserves the thanks not only of the parishioners of Westbury-on-Trym, but of the far larger number of folk who are interested in one of the most ancient minsters of our district, for the care and pains which he has taken in making the history of the church and parish known.

In Memoriam.

GEORGE BUTTERWORTH.

The Rev. George Butterworth graduated from Balliol College, Oxford, in Classical Honours in 1844, and in 1846 he was ordained to the Curacy of Stoke Gifford, which he held for eight years. During this period, and also for two years more while he was Curate of Henbury, he lived at Henbury Court with his mother, a daughter of Mr. Thomas Stock, of Bristol. His father had lived at Clapham, and from both his parents Mr. Butterworth inherited the best traditions of the Evangelical section of the Church of England.

In 1856 he was appointed by Bishop Monk to the living of Deerhurst, which he held for thirty-seven years, resigning at last on account of ill-health. He also held for a short time the office of Rural Dean. This was one of the many excellent appointments by which Bishop Monk left his mark on the united dioceses for so long a time.

Mr. Butterworth was one of the original members of our Society, and he contributed to the first volume of our *Transactions* a paper on the Priory and Church of Deerhurst. But his name is best known in connection with the discovery of Odda's Chapel, which was concealed in the fabric of a farmhouse which stood about eighty yards from the southern extremity of the cemetery of the Priory Church. One day in August, 1885, the farmhouse was to be altered, and turned into a cottage or cottages, and Mr. Butterworth was naturally there to see what was to be revealed. The story can best be told in his own words: "Outside, thick plaster covered the walls, and effectually concealed all ancient vestiges. At the back of the building a keen eye was just able to trace on the plaster, fourteen

feet from the ground or so, a faint marking of a somewhat semi-circular shape. It struck the writer that possibly this ill-defined line betokened the existence, beneath the plaster, of a round-headed window. On removing the plaster this proved to be the case. Stimulated by the hint thus fortunately conveyed, the writer, in conjunction with Mr. Collins, of Tewkesbury, the builder engaged on the repairs of the farmhouse, examined most carefully the remaining portions of the thick walls, and the result of their joint investigations was the discovery of a chapel, consisting of nave and chancel, separated from each other by a rude chancel arch."[1]

One is reminded of the old story, "Eyes and No Eyes," and wonders how many ancient buildings have passed to destruction simply because there was no one present in the hour of their desolation with eyes to see and a mind to understand. The ancient chapel now stands as a memorial not only of Ælfric, and of Odda who built it, and caused it to be hallowed, in 1056, but also of George Butterworth, the man with the seeing eye, and of Thomas Collins, the skilful master-builder, who recognised it, and brought it back to its original form 830 years afterwards.

It is interesting to know that a cast of the Dedication Stone, in the name of the Holy Trinity, found in Odda's Chapel, which was given to Mr. Butterworth by Mr. Collins, has been given by Mr. Butterworth's children to the Ashmolean Museum, and will be placed by the side of the stone found in an orchard near by in 1675.

Mr. Butterworth contributed an account of his discoveries to our *Transactions*, and afterwards embodied them in a most interesting little book—*Deerhurst: A Parish of the Vale of Gloucester*.

After his resignation of the living, Mr. Butterworth lived at Portishead, whence he entered into rest on September 16th, 1909. He was buried in the old churchyard at Deerhurst, which he loved so well.

1 *Transactions*, xi, 105.

ON A HOARD OF HALF-CROWNS OF CHARLES I DEPOSITED EARLY IN 1645.

A LECTURE.

By PROFESSOR OMAN, M.B.A.,
President of the Society.

The coin collector is comparatively seldom confronted with an intact hoard of ancient money, fresh from the under-ground or over-ground hiding-place where the coins have been lurking; but I have been fortunate enough to inspect, before they were dispersed, several considerable masses of coins—for example, the St. Albans hoard of gold angels of the time from Edward IV to Henry VIII, two or three Gloucestershire finds of small Roman bronze of the Constantinian period, a lot of Æthelred II pennies from Sweden, which were once submitted to me at Berlin, the Corbridge Roman gold find of last year, and finally the curious little collection of which I am speaking to-night.

I have thought it well, therefore, to place on record for your benefit a detailed account of this hoard of half-crowns of Charles I, which passed under my eyes a few years ago, and to illustrate it by the exhibition of a few of the coins themselves, for I was so fortunate as to obtain a score of them for myself. The interest of the deposit, whose *provenance* (as I was told at the time) was from the South Midlands, was that from it there was a chance of drawing some useful and interesting deductions as to the character of the currency that was circulating early in 1645 in that region, and also as to the date at which some of the more obscure local issues came into existence.

The peculiarity of the find was that it consisted entirely of half-crowns, and amounted exactly to the round sum of £21, or 168 pieces. Hoards of Charles I coins are not uncommon, I have found records in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of the last

twenty years of three hoards much larger than this, and in each case running into four figures, at Oswestry, Worlington and Crediton. But in all these cases the coins were of mixed denominations, crowns, half-crowns, shillings and sixpences all together, and made up no exact or particular sum. Moreover in every instance the pieces did not comprise specimens of the issues of Charles I alone, but included many coins of Elizabeth and James I, which were of course still circulating in immense quantities when the Civil War of the Great Rebellion was in progress. It is comparatively easy to understand that a man who wished to have a precise and exact sum of money by him should put it all up in pieces of the same denomination, and the half-crown is a sufficiently convenient coin of the kind. Twenty-one gold sovereigns would have been equally easy to collect, however, and much less bulky. So that we are driven to deduce either that the hider was a local man who did not want to attract attention by showing much gold, or else that he was intending to make some payment in which a half-crown was a convenient unit, while a sovereign or half-sovereign would have been too big. Such a sort of payment would have been the serving out of the weekly pay of soldiers, or of any large body of men collected for some non-military purpose.

But the really extraordinary thing is that the hider seems to have carefully excluded from his hoard all half-crowns save those of Charles I. By all rules there should have been a sprinkling of James I pieces and a few Elizabeths in his little collection. But these were entirely absent, and (what is still more curious) the list of Charles I coins is composed in immense majority of issues of that king's later years, only thirty-five pieces out of 168 belonging to the time before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. The sequence of mint-marks, showing the dates of the pieces, was very curious. There was not a solitary piece of any of the first seven years of the reign of Charles I, the hoard commencing with a single half-crown with the mint-mark harp, that of the year 1632. From that year

onward we have a thin sequence of pieces of each issue down to 1641 (only thirty-five in all, as I said before). But for the years 1642–4, whose mint-marks were the triangle in circle, P in circle, and R in circle, we have no less than 104 pieces of the London mint, the issues of these three years forming five-eighths of the whole hoard. There was, on the other hand, not a single half-crown of the very common London issues of 1645 with the mint-marks eye and sun. This would have led one to deduce that the deposit had been made in 1644, before the eye and sun issues had begun to be struck. But another fact forced me to modify this conclusion. A certain proportion of the coins belonged not to the usual London mint, but to the more or less ephemeral royal mints of the Civil War, such as Oxford and Bristol. There were twenty-nine half-crowns of these local mints in all, and of them two were Oxford coins bearing the date 1645, and showing the earlier type of the issue of that year from our local mint in New Inn Hall, through which so much college silver passed in those eventful times.

Since we find these two coins of 1645 along with 166 belonging to the period before 1645, we are driven to the certain deduction that the hoard must have been deposited very early in that year, when coins from the Oxford mint had already begun to permeate through the South Midlands, though the London money had not yet reached the district. This explanation is all the more easy because there was, early in 1645, the sharpest political barrier between London and the regions which were still in the hands of King Charles. The London money would find its first vent into the eastern and southern counties, where the Parliament had complete control, and would take some time to penetrate into those parts of the realm which (like the West and the South-West Midlands) were cut off from London by the barrier of war. I think, then, that we may fix the deposit of the hoard very definitely to January or February, 1645, when King Charles was still in possession of the West and South, and when the fatal Battle of Naseby was still some months in the future.

If the coins had been hidden any later, there would certainly have been London pieces of 1645 among them.

I now give the exact list of the coins:—

TOWER MINT.

Year.	Mint-Mark.	No. of Pieces.
1632 ..	Harp	1
1633 ..	Portcullis	4
1634 ..	Bell	2
1635 ..	Crown	7
1636–8 ..	Tun	6
1638 ..	Anchor	1
1639 ..	Triangle	7
1640 ..	Star	7
1641–2 ..	Triangle in circle	65
1643 ..	P in circle	20
1644 ..	R in circle	19
	Total of Tower issues ..	139

SHREWSBURY MINT.

1642 ..	No Mint-mark. Three small plumes in field (Hawkins, Type 3)	3
	Total of Shrewsbury issues ..	3

OXFORD MINT.

Dated		
1642 ..	Three small plumes. No OX (Hawkins, Type 1)	5
1643 ..	One large and two small plumes. No OX (Hawkins, Type 5)	2
1643 ..	Three small plumes. OX (Hawkins, Type 8)	2
1643 ..	One large, two small plumes. OX (Hawkins, Type 9)	2
1644 ..	One large and two small plumes. OX (Hawkins, Type 16)	4

Year.		No. of Pieces.
1645 ..	One large, two small plumes. OX (Hawkins, Type 21)	1
1645 ..	Three small plumes. OX (Hawkins, Type 23)	1
	Total of Oxford issues ..	17

BRISTOL MINT.

1644 ..	Three plumes. Monogram BR on both sides (Hawkins, Type 5) ..	2
1644 ..	Three plumes. Monogram only on reverse (Hawkins, Type 4) ..	2
	Total of Bristol issues ..	4

WORCESTER MINT.

(No date)

1644 ..	Mint-marks, one pear on obverse : three pears on reverse. H C below garniture (Hawkins, Type 1) ..	1
	Ditto, but no H C (not in Hawkins)	1
	Total of Worcester issues ..	2

WEYMOUTH MINT.

(No date)

1644 ..	Mint-mark, Castle ? and W below horse on obverse	1
	[A very rare type, with reverse bearing inscription FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA, instead of the usual CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO ?] (Hawkins, *Uncertain Mints*, Type 19).	
	Total of Weymouth issues ..	1

		No. of Pieces.
YORK MINT.		
Year.		
No date	Mint-mark, lion passant and EBOR ..	1
	Total of York issues ..	1
UNCERTAIN MINT.		
1644 ..	Mint-mark, plume. Like an Oxford coin in general style, but of very poor and coarse work. No OX below the declaration on reverse	1
	Total of Uncertain Issue ..	1
	General Total	168

There were numberless small varieties which I had not time to take down in detail during the short time that the hoard was before me. The oddest was on one of the " triangle in circle " coins, of the Tower issue of 1641, in which the king's name was spelt CROLUS.

As to condition, it was noticeable that the earlier half-crowns, those of 1632–8, were for the most part rounder and better struck than the later ones. They were far more worn, but had been in their time well-executed pieces. On the other hand, the great number of " triangle in circle " coins of 1641–2, which formed over a third of the whole hoard (65 pieces out of 168), were seldom round, and were nearly all badly struck : on but ten of them could the whole inscription be read, and either the rider's body or the horse's was usually wanting in part, through insufficient pressure by the die. They were very fresh in most cases, had seen practically no wear, but were eminently unpleasing, owing to the careless striking. The Tower coins of 1643–4 were still more discreditable ; they were not in one case in ten in decent order, though they were fresh from the mint.

Among the Civil War coins of the local mints, the Shrewsbury, Bristol and Weymouth coins were both round

well struck, and well preserved. The Oxford ones, on the other hand, except those of 1642, were particularly ill-struck, on flans which had never been round, and had not received a sufficiently deep impression to bring out the details of the rider's dress or the horse's trappings on the obverse. Worst of all, however, for careless striking, were the two Worcester half-crowns, which were slightly bent, as if they had been passed through an ill-adjusted mill, and also impressed very deeply at the one side (where the king's head on the obverse and the crown over the shield on the reverse lay) and very slightly at the other, where the inscription was so poorly embossed as to be barely legible. I note with interest that the coin of this mint illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue of British Coins shows exactly these same faults. The coining machinery at Worcester must evidently have been worked by a very unskilled moneyer, who could not adjust his press.

The York half-crown was a neat, well-struck piece, but rather worn by use, in about the same condition, indeed, as the Tower mint pieces of 1635–8. I therefore conclude that it is quite true, as had been before guessed, that the York mint must have been operating long before the Civil War began as a regular royal institution. If it had been established in 1642, like the other ephemeral mints, this coin would have been as fresh and clean as the other issues of 1642–5 from Bristol, Oxford, or Shrewsbury. I can make no guess as to the *provenance* of the one half-crown which I have called "uncertain." It was a disgraceful piece of engraving, rudely copying Oxford types, but evidently not struck at that place, where the work was always far better than that shown on this ugly dumpy coin, of which a great part of the inscription was invisible, owing to the metal having failed to splay out sufficiently to catch the whole surface of the die.

It is worth while to note that the London coins struck by the Parliamentarians continue to preserve in exact resemblance the old types of Charles I, which had been struck in his earlier years—the mounted king on one side, the royal coat of arms

on the other. There is nothing to indicate that they were struck by subjects in rebellion against their sovereign ; indeed, the only thing to notice about them is that in 1643 the engraving and art of the issues falls off noticeably, the coins with the mint-marks (P) and (R) having a squat, dumpy man and horse, which contrast most unfavourably with the graceful figures of the "star" and "triangle in circle" issues, which were struck in 1640–1 before the Civil War began. A peculiar artistic infelicity seems to have presided over all the numismatic productions of the Parliamentarians, as was shown best of all when in 1649 they began to produce the "Commonwealth money," after the execution of Charles. Anything plainer and more banal than the two shields and the short English inscription on these pieces it is hard to recall to memory.

The art on the king's Civil War money had much more excuse for rudeness, since the Parliament had control over the chief mint and the majority of the old engravers, whilst the royalist mints in most places had to be improvised—some local die-sinker being told off to do his best, which was often very bad indeed. The best pieces of the royal mintage are those of Oxford and Shrewsbury, which had the advantage of a few workmen drawn from the Welsh mint of Aberystwyth, which was under Charles's power from the first. But the Bristol, Weymouth and Worcester pieces are particularly bad in the matter of art, especially those of Worcester, where the horse is twice too long in the body for the size of his legs.

The royal money has for the most part a complete break in its types, because Charles at his main mints ordered the old reverse device of the royal arms to be discontinued, and substituted for it a sort of advertisement in large letters written across the face of the coin, to the effect that he intended to preserve "the Protestant religion, the laws of England, and the liberties of Parliament," words taken from his solemn declaration at the outbreak of the Civil War, a declaration which got just about the amount of credence that

it deserved. All the Shrewsbury, Oxford and Bristol coins have this rather ugly and inartistic reverse; but the Worcester and Weymouth moneyers do not seem to have possessed the wish or the ability to produce this new type, but contented themselves with trying to copy the shield of arms on the old half-crowns that were circulating before the Civil War. The Weymouth moneyer, whose single coin appears in my list, made the odd mistake of not copying for the inscription one of the old half-crowns, with the legend CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO, but the reverse of a gold sovereign, which has round the shield the words FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA. This is a rare variety, as most of the Weymouth coins, during the short existence of the royal mint there, had the other and more correct inscription.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE BRISTOL PARISH CHURCHES.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT BRISTOL ON OCTOBER 13TH, 1909.

By The Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.,
Vicar of Banwell.

I HAVE chosen this subject for our consideration this evening partly because it is one of general interest, and partly because very absurd statements are sometimes made with regard to the relative age and dignity of our different churches, and it seemed desirable to gather together what is known on the subject. By Bristol parish churches are meant those ancient cathedral or parish churches which lie at present within the County of Bristol, or which have been dependent on churches which are so interned, and it will be convenient to consider them in three divisions—the Parish of Westbury-on-Trym, the ancient borough of Bristol with its appendant Hundred of Barton Regis, and the Domesday Manor of Bedminster.

Without doubt first of all the Bristol churches, whether we have regard to age or interest, stands that venerable minster which now serves as the parish church of Westbury-on-Trym. Already in 803, more than eleven centuries ago, it was a well-endowed monastery under its Abbot Freothomund, and since then, whether as a house of old English priests, or as the Benedictine monastery from which that system of monasticism spread through Mercia and East Anglia, or as a college of Secular Canons, or as a quasi-cathedral, or finally as a plain parish church, bare of everything except its beautiful fabric and its noble history, the voice of prayer has never been quite silent within its walls. When in 1904 it was included in Bristol, having existed for more than three hundred years before the history of any other church begins, and for more

than seven centuries before Bristol possessed a cathedral, it stepped at once into its natural place as the most ancient and venerable of our churches.

Passing to the Manor of Bedminster, the churches to be considered are the mother church of St. John the Baptist, the three churches which till 1852 ranked as its chapels—that is to say, the Holy Trinity at Leigh, St. Mary Redcliff, and St. Thomas the Martyr—and lastly a church whose history is quite separate from these—Holy Cross, or Temple Church. I can find nothing about Bedminster before 1084, but in Domesday Book, compiled two years later, it is recorded that "the priest of the manor holds sufficient land for one team, and it is worth twenty shillings." The average value of a ploughland in the Bedminster group of manors was 15s. 9d., and thus the area which would naturally correspond to a value of 20s. would be about 152 acres. Now it is a very remarkable thing that the area of the prebendal estate of Bedminster at the time of the Tithe Commutation in 1836 was 155 acres, so that it would seem that the estate of the Domesday priest of Bedminster had descended without alteration for nearly eight hundred years.

There was also a priest at Leigh, which was a member of the Manor of Bedminster; for among the king's clerks is mentioned Turstin, who paid geld for one hide at Leigh, and who held land worth ten shillings. Thus there were two priests, and no doubt two churches, in Bedminster in 1086, and almost certainly there were no more. The first mention of a church at Redcliff occurs in a charter of confirmation by Henry II of the Churches of Bedminster, Redcliff, and Leigh to Salisbury Cathedral, about 1158.[1] This must have been St. Mary's, because St. Thomas was not yet in existence. Probably St. Mary's had been founded not long before to meet the needs of the population which had settled near Bristol Bridge, to whom Henry II granted a charter about 1160; at any rate, the church must have been founded after the boundary between

[1] *Register of St. Osmund* (Rolls Series), 1. 203.

the new borough of Redcliff and Bedminster had been laid down, which boundary touches St. Mary's Churchyard. For though it is easy to understand why the church should have been placed close to an existing boundary in order to obtain a good foundation on the rock, it is unlikely that the limits of the parish of an existing or contemplated church should have been so clumsily drawn. Probably we shall not be far wrong if we place the foundation of St. Mary Redcliff Church about 1150.

The other parish church in the borough of Redcliff, that of St. Thomas the Martyr, cannot have been founded before December 29th, 1170, when St. Thomas of Canterbury was slain in his cathedral. Robert, Vicar of Banwell, gave a house in Thomas Street to Bruton Priory—the grant occurs in the cartulary next to one of 1204, and the name of Philip Long, one of the witnesses, occurs in other Bristol documents about 1218—so that we may conclude that St. Thomas Church was founded within half a century of the martyr's death, and probably not long after that event. A small piece of late Norman string-course built into the tower can hardly be of later date than 1200. As the borough of Redcliff had been planted on Bedminster soil, the priest of Bedminster was responsible for the cure of souls in the borough, and though the two great parish churches of St. Mary and St. Thomas were built, they continued to be merely chapels of the mother church of Bedminster until 1852, when by order in Council they became independent cures.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who married Mabel, daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, in 1109, and died in 1147, gave that portion of the Manor of Bedminster which now forms the Parish of Temple to the Knights Templars, whose order was founded in 1118. A church was built by the knights, which became parochial in 1342. So that of the five ancient churches south of the Avon, two—Bedminster and Leigh—existed before the compilation of Domesday Book, the two Redcliff churches of St. Mary and St. Thomas were founded in the twelfth century, and Temple Church, founded no doubt in that century as the

church of a religious order, did not become parochial until a much later period.

Unfortunately it is not possible to obtain such exact chronological data with regard to the churches of the borough of Bristol and the Manor of Barton Regis. There were certainly some churches in Bristol in 1086, for Domesday Book states that the churches of Bristol hold three hides of land, and have there one team; but as there is nothing to show definitely which these churches were we will consider the churches of Bristol according to the quarters into which the borough was divided by the streets which met at the High Cross.

In the north-east quarter there was only Christ Church, or the Holy Trinity, for the dedications are identical, and it was known as the Ward of Holy Trinity. The Church of St. John the Baptist, or St. John de Bradeforde as it is called in the Pleas of the Crown for 1287, stood over the gateway at the foot of Broad Street, through which passed the highway to the fords over the Frome. In the north-west quarter stood the Churches of St. Ewen and St. Werburgh, and on the walls were the Churches of St. Lawrence and St. Giles, a Chapel of St. Leonard: it was known as the Ward of St. Ewen. In the south-east quarter the Church of St. Mary-le-Port stood alone, and gave its name to the ward. In the south-west quarter stood the Church of All Saints, and the Churches of St. Nicholas and St. Leonard stood over the gateways of the streets which bounded it on the east and north: it was known as the Ward of All Saints. The situation of the churches in the wards is to be noted, because it apparently influenced their distribution among various religious houses. Outside the walls, on the east, were the Churches of St. Peter and St. Philip and St. Jacob; at some distance to the north stood St. Michael's, while on the west were St. Stephen's and St. Augustine-the-Less. Mangotsfield and Stapleton Churches provided for outlying portions of the manor, and Clifton Church provided for its own parish.

It is worth noticing that both to the north and south of the Avon the ecclesiastical arrangements are evidently older than those of the civil authorities, and in each case the mother church of the borough lay outside the earliest fortifications. This was clearly so to the south of the river, for the priest of Bedminster appears in Domesday Book, while the town wall enclosing the borough of Redcliff and the liberty of Temple Fee was not set up till after the completion of the Cut, which was made to facilitate the erection of Bristol Bridge in the middle of the thirteenth century. And even then the larger of the two Redcliff parish churches was left outside the wall because it was built on the rocky hill in order to obtain a good foundation, while the wall and ditch naturally lay in the low ground.

Matters are by no means so clear north of the Avon, for the course of the fortification on the east of the borough from Avon to Frome is open to doubt. Seyer makes it run through the middle of St. Peter's Church, and suggests that the church has been moved, but the oblong shape of the tower and the batter at its base are marks of great antiquity, and there seems to be no documentary evidence in favour of the idea of removal. There is, however, good reason for thinking that St. Peter's stood outside the original line of fortification, for, as we have seen, the south-eastern ward of the old borough was called by the name of St. Mary-le-Port, and if St. Peter's had lain within the lines, seeing that it was recognised to be the oldest and chief of the Bristol churches, we should think that the ward in which it lay would have been called by the name of St. Peter rather than of St. Mary. We seem to be carried back to a time when the Court House of the Royal Manor of Barton stood on Barton Hill, with Lawford's (Hlaford's, the Lord's) Gate in front giving access to the road which led through Kingswood Forest, and Kingsland Road, leading through the manor estate, running down towards the river behind.

The Manor Church of St. Peter stood on a cliff above the river some half-mile away. Then a bridge was built across the river, and a settlement grew up at the bridge-head, and

as the manor had no special name of its own, the group of houses was called simply the Bridge Place. It became a little centre of crowded life, with streets and churches set round the point where the two main ways crossed, till at last a line of fortifications was drawn around it, and the ancient mother church of St. Peter was left outside, as Bedminster lay outside Redcliff, or Walton-on-the-Hill outside Liverpool. Then at length the castle was built on the east of the borough, the old lines of fortification perished, and St. Peter's was included in the Ward of St. Mary-le-Port. For in the taxation of rents in the Ward of St. Mary-le-Port for the Tallage of 1312 Richard Horncastel paid 5s. 8d. for a shop near St. Peter's Church, and the Abbot of St. Augustine's paid £1 os. 8d. for two *aulæ* near St. Peter's Church.[1] The borough grew till it had taken in the mother church of Bristol, as it has grown since till it has included the parish church of Bedminster, the mother church of Redcliff and Temple Fee.

In considering the relative ages of the different churches we are helped by the fact that a charter of Simon, Bishop of Worcester, confirming about 1140 the possessions of the Monastery of Tewkesbury, states that by common consent the Church of St. Peter is the oldest and chief of the churches of Bristol. And it is natural that this should be so, for just as St. Peter's and St. Mary-le-Port stand side by side at Bristol, so two churches with the same dedications stood side by side in all the chief boroughs of South-Western Mercia. At Worcester, St. Peter's was the cathedral till St. Mary's superseded it;[2] at Gloucester there are the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Mary de Lode with its large and scattered parish; at Bath are the Abbey Church of St. Peter and St. Mary's, Bathwick; at Oxford Domesday Book shows us St. Peter's in the east, with its estate of Holywell, and St. Mary's, now the University Church, the parish of which, like that of St. Mary de Lode at Gloucester, extends far and wide. We accept St. Peter's then as the oldest and chief of Bristol parish churches, with

[1] *Transactions*, xix, 265. [2] *Archæological Journal*, xix, 244.

most likely St. Mary-le-Port of only little less age and dignity. With regard to the rest of the churches within the walls, we cannot go further than to say that the churches which stood on the ground are probably older than those which stood on the wall, a conclusion which is borne out by the fact that no wall church gave its name to a ward. It is likely that when the limited space within the walls was fully covered, and the need of more church accommodation was felt, the churches were perched on the wall, where they would occupy little space, and would yet be safe in case of war. If this were so, the oldest churches after St. Peter's and St. Mary-le-Port would be Christ Church, All Saints', St. Ewen's, and St. Werburgh's, a very probable condition of things, for the two former are very common dedications, and the two latter would hardly have been given after the Norman Conquest. Moreover these four churches are in the very heart of the borough, where land would be built over first of all. St. Michael's and St. Philip and St. Jacob, the latter containing Norman work, are also ancient. St. Augustine-the-Less and St. Stephen's, founded probably about the time of the alteration of the course of the Frome, are the youngest of our churches. English parochial boundaries are very tenacious things. The Cut, made about 1240, divides the two parishes, and that fact alone goes far to show that the parishes themselves date from a time not earlier than that period. Of the distant churches, Mangotsfield and Stapleton were possessions of the Priory of St. James, and Clifton Church was given to the Abbey of St. Augustine before 1180.

There is no doubt that all the churches mentioned were in existence before 1300. Indeed, it would seem that about that time there was more church accommodation in Bristol than was needed, for in 1319 the Chapel of St. Giles, which stood over Small Street Gate, was pulled down, and in 1331 its revenues were annexed to the mother church of St. Leonard. The building of St. Stephen's Church may have rendered this little chapel needless, certainly the awful famine of 1315

and the following years must have caused a serious loss of life.

With regard to the actual date of the appearance of these different churches, we note that in the charter of apportionment of the revenues of Tewkesbury Abbey, made by the first abbot, Giraldus, under the direction and advice of Robert Fitzhamon on September 27th, 1105, the Church of St. Peter is appropriated to the sustenance of the monks, and the tithe of the rent of Bristol is assigned to the almoner.[1] And thus it is that the church which we recognise as the first and chief of our Bristol parish churches is also the first to appear, about nineteen years after the compilation of Domesday Book; it is also more likely than not that the base of the present tower was already in existence.

Next to St. Peter's comes Christ Church or the Holy Trinity, a moiety of which was given by Philip the Priest to the Abbey of Tewkesbury before the death of Earl Robert in 1147, and the grant was confirmed at the request of Earl William by John de Pagham, Bishop of Worcester, 1150–7.[2]

The manner in which the Church of St. Ewen, which stood on the site of the present Council House, passed into the possession of the Priory of St. James is clearly shown by three deeds belonging to the Monastery of Tewkesbury.[3] By the first deed William, Earl of Gloucester, notified to Simon, Bishop of Worcester, that he confirmed to Thurstan the Priest of Bristol the Church of St. Ewen, which Robert Consul, his father, gave to him in alms and confirmed by deed. And he prayed the Bishop to maintain his right, as he had admitted him in his father's time. By the second deed St. Thomas of Canterbury confirmed the Church of St. Ewen to Thurstan, as Robert, Earl of Gloucester, had given it to him, and as Simon, Bishop of Worcester, had confirmed it. By the third deed William, Earl of Gloucester, confirmed the gift which Thurstan, Priest of St. Ewen's, had made of that church to the Priory of St. James.

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii, 81. [2] *Ibid.*, ii, 70.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 70, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii.

It is clear that at some time between the consecration of Bishop Simon in 1125 and the death of Earl Robert in 1147 the Earl had granted the Church of St. Ewen to the Priest Thurstan *in elemosinam ;* this would be a grant of the church, and not a mere presentation to the benefice. But it is clear also that Thurstan's right to the church was contested by some powerful adversary, for it was needful for him to obtain a confirmation of his right from the temporal lord of the fee, from the bishop of the diocese, and from the archbishop of the province, and each of these high dignitaries supported him. Finally, Thurstan gave the church to the Priory of St. James. It seems likely that the adversary was the Abbey of Tewkesbury, whose claim was probably based on the grant of St. Peter's Church, *cum pertinentiis*, and the statement that St. Ewen's Church was one of those *pertinentiæ*. However this may be, any other claim than that of Thurstan's was evidently regarded by those who were best entitled to judge as being without foundation, but the powerful religious house as usual prevailed.

A copy of the second of these deeds, No. xxxii, no doubt the original document, which was deposited in the Church of St. Ewen in the twelfth century, was exhibited by the Rev. R. T. Cole, Rector of Christ Church with St. Ewen, at a meeting of the Clifton Antiquarian Club held on December 17th, 1909, and a photograph of it is given in Part xix of the *Proceedings* of the Club opposite page 83. Mr. W. de Gray Birch, in a paper on "Original Documents relating to Bristol and the Neighbourhood," read at Bristol during the meeting of the British Archæological Association in 1874, gave a transcript of the same document.[1] He, however, called it an induction, and attributed it to Archbishop Theobald. As Mr. Birch states that the documents which he described were either in the Bristol Museum, the British Museum, or in the possession of Mr. Bowman of Bristol, it seems likely that the St. Ewen's deed which he printed was not the one which belonged to St.

[1] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xxxi, 290.

Ewen's Church, but a counterpart, which may very likely have come into the possession of the city when the Corporation purchased the advowson of St. Ewen's with those of other city churches about 1626.

The Churches of St. John, St. James de Fria (SS. Philip and Jacob), St. Michael, and St. Brendan, without the town, were confirmed to the Abbey of Tewkesbury by Henry de Soliaco, Bishop of Worcester, 1193–5, but nothing is said about the time or manner of their gift. The parish churches of Mangotsfield and Stapleton were chapels of St. Peter's. Mangotsfield Church appears in 1231, when William de Putot, Sheriff of Gloucestershire, was allowed to have a chapel and a chaplain in his court-house at Mangotsfield,[1] and Stapleton Church existed in 1438, when the Abbot of Tewkesbury allowed the parishioners to bury at Stapleton.[2] But no doubt each church existed before those dates. It is curious that both St. Peter's and Christ Church were held in moieties: Philip the Priest gave a moiety of Christ Church to Tewkesbury Abbey, and in the grant of a chapel and chaplain to William de Putot at Mangotsfield in 1231 the names of both rectors of St. Peter's—Stephen, of Thornbury, and David, who was also Dean of Bristol, are given. This must be one of the earliest mentions of the Rural Dean of Bristol. I cannot trace the other moiety of Christ Church; possibly it was already in the possession of the abbey.

William, Earl of Gloucester, gave St. Mary-le-Port and St. Werburgh's to Keynsham Abbey between the death of his son Robert in 1166 and 1172, by which time the foundation of the abbey was complete, while All Saints', St. Nicholas and St. Leonard's had already been given to St. Augustine's Abbey by Ranulf, Earl of Chester, who had married Matilda, daughter of Earl Robert, of Gloucester. As Earl Ranulf died in 1153, these churches must have passed into the possession of St. Augustine's Abbey within five years of its foundation.

We note that all the churches within the borough that

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii, 79. [2] Barrett, p. 389.

passed to Tewkesbury Abbey lay to the north of Corn Street and Wine Street, while of the churches which passed to the children of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, all except St. Werburgh's lay to the south of those thoroughfares. As it is likely that the northern churches passed as being connected with St. Peter's, we might guess that the southern churches were appurtenant to St. Mary-le-Port, but so far as I know there is no evidence to show that this was so. The only church within the walls which did not belong to Earl Robert Fitzhamon or his family was the little Church of St. Lawrence, which stood on the wall to the west of St. John's, and it was also the only church in lay patronage. The earliest rector mentioned by Barrett was appointed in 1303, and in 1580 the parish was joined to that of St. John, and the church was destroyed. It is very probable that this Church of St. Lawrence did not come into existence till the churches which had belonged to Earl Robert Fitzhamon and his family had been distributed among religious houses.

A passage in William Wyrcestre relating to St. Philip's and St. Stephen's Churches has long been a puzzle, at any rate to me: "The parish church of St. Philip, on the south side of the town of Bristol, in a place where there was formerly a priory of monks of the Order of St. Benedict. The parish church of St. Stephen, near the quay of Bristol, situated in a place where formerly from ancient time, as I have heard, there was a priory of monks of the Order of St. Benedict, and it was a cell belonging to the Monastery of Glastonbury."[1] I can find nothing about any priory at St. Philip's, but another passage of William Wyrcestre seems to throw some light on what he says concerning St. Stephen's: "Item out of that lane that goeth by the east end of Seint Stevyn Church returneth another lane from the north side of St. Peter Church by the west door of the said church, turning to the aforesaid first lane so entering to the Key."[2] The passage will be found on the photograph in the *Transactions* relating to Robert

[1] Dallaway, p. 137. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Lond.[1] It is clear that the St. Peter's Church mentioned cannot be the parish church on the east of the borough, but it is possible that it was the church of the old cell of Glastonbury, and this would account for the connection of St. Stephen's Church with that abbey.

It would seem, then, that four of our parish churches were originally cells of religious houses, three—St. Philip's, St. Stephen's and St. James's—belonging to Benedictine monks, one—Holy Cross—to the Knights Templars; and it is a question whether there was not really a fifth, and whether St. Mark's Chapel ought not to be reckoned among parish churches. William Wyrcestre distinctly calls it parochial: "The parish church (*ecclesia parochialis*) in the sanctuary of St. Augustine, on the north side of the town of Bristol, called The Gaunts, where the church of the religious house is dedicated in the name of St. Mark."[2] At the Dissolution a pension of £8 was granted to one of the brethren of St. Mark's named John Ellis, Clerk, assigned to be curate of the Parish of St. Mark, so long as he should serve; if he refuse the same cure, then to have but £6."[3] Finally, in Ecton's *Thesaurus*, 1742, "St. Mark's *alias* Gaunts" is bracketed with St. James as being a curacy in the patronage of the city of Bristol. It is clear that in the fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries some sort of parochial character was supposed to belong to St. Mark's Church; indeed, unless this were so, it is not easy to account for its preservation when the house was dissolved. But it is also clear that this character was not well defined. John Ellis might serve the cure or not as he pleased. Moreover, the Corporation have never since the Dissolution appointed curates to St. Mark's as they did regularly to St. James; and lastly, the cure of souls in the precinct of the Gaunts, the boundaries of which are well known, is now, and apparently has been for a very long period, in the charge of the Vicar of St. Augustine-the-Less.

Some of the dedications of our churches are interesting.

1 *Transactions*, xxx, 265. 2 Dallaway, p. 137. 3 Barrett, p. 374.

All the earlier Huiccian minsters were dedicated in the name of St. Peter, and that, no doubt, was the original title of the Church of Westbury-on-Trym. All the Huiccian churches which accepted the Benedictine reformation under St. Oswald were called by the name of St. Mary, and no doubt at Westbury also the name of Our Lady was added to that of the Keeper of the Keys. At any rate, in 1093 St. Wulfstan tells us that he set himself to restore the church to the glory of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, His holy mother St. Mary, and all the Apostles, while finally Bishops Giffard and Carpenter dedicated their collegiate foundations in the name of the Holy Trinity. Few churches can possess so long and varied a series of dedications.

Bedminster Church bears the same dedication, that of St. John the Baptist, with St. Aldhelm's ancient Somerset minster of Frome; and its Chapel of St. Thomas, is dedicated in the name of the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, whose name stands first, as chancellor, among the witnesses to the earliest charter of the borough of Bristol; while the neighbouring Church of Temple naturally bears the title of the Holy Cross.

Of the Bristol churches we have already dealt with St. Peter's and St. Mary-le-Port. St. Ewen's seems to have been a Celtic dedication, found at Bristol, Gloucester, Chepstow and Hereford, and also at Hewan's Rock on the north landing of the Old Passage in Beachley Parish. St. Werburgh was a granddaughter of Penda, the last heathen king of the Mercians, and her dedications, few in number, are found at points as far apart as Hoo St. Werburgh, near Rochester, Warburton on the Mersey, and Wembury in South Devon.[1] These two dedications, going back to the old Celtic church, and to the days of Mercian supremacy, clearly show that there was a Bricstow, a place at the bridge-head, long before the reign of Ethelred the Unready, when the place-name first appears on coins; a place too, most likely, as shown by these dedications, where

[1] Kerslake: "St. Ewen, Bristol, and the Welsh border," *British Archæological Journal*, xxxi. 153.

Englishmen and Welshmen dwelt side by side. It may be a mere coincidence, it may be a touch of deep feeling, which placed the Church of the Saviour on one side of the central point of the old borough and the Church of All Saints over against it: "I and the children whom Thou hast given Me." The church of the sailors' Saint, Nicholas, stood over the gateway leading to the Quay, and as the Baptist preached at first by the fords of Jordan, so was his church placed over the gateway leading down to the broad ford over the Frome; while high above the old borough, in the sides of the north, was set the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, for "He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways." It is a great pity that a perverse piece of nineteenth-century carelessness has severed this ancient church from its companions, and placed it in the Deanery of Clifton. The Chapel of Mangotsfield adopted the dedication of the Priory of St. James. If this was the original dedication the church must have been founded between 1140 and 1231. We note, however, that the document of 1231 states that the parish feast day was that of St. Ethelbert, May 20th, and also that the parish church of Littledean, situated like Mangotsfield close to a Mercian royal forest, was dedicated in the name of St. Ethelbert, who was treacherously slain by King Offa. It would seem to be by no means unlikely that the original dedication at Mangotsfield was in the name of St. Ethelbert, and that it was altered in Norman times to St. James. Some Austin Canons' churches, such as Bolton, Dorchester and Waltham, were parochial: this was not the case at Bristol, so the canons built a parish church for the people who came to live around them, and called it St. Augustine-the-Less.

It cannot be said, however, that the modern dedications give evidence of much thought or care in their choice, though Bedminster is more fortunate than Bristol and Clifton. In Bedminster St. Peter's, Bishopsworth, and St. Paul's, Bedminster, revive the dedication of the twelfth-century chapel at Bishopsworth, as St. Katherine's, Knowle, revives

the dedication of the chapel of the hospital at Brightbow, and St. Martin's might be taken as repeating the title of the chapel in the castle; while St. Aldhelm, the great missionary of the West Saxons, and St. Dunstan, their wise statesman, go halves in a modern parish; but that unselfish West Saxon martyr, St. Alphege, as yet has no place amongst us, though he has claims on both sides of the river, for he was Abbot of Deerhurst, as well as being a Somerset man and Abbot of Bath. Of all the modern Bristol and Clifton dedications, the only ones which bear any mark of careful thought and special fitness in their titles are All Hallows, the twin church of All Saints in the city, St. Lawrence, reviving the dedication of the old leper hospital, and St. Aidan, who is relegated to Crew's Hole. Yet the ancient titles of St. Ewen, St. Leonard and St. Giles might well have been revived, and St. Hilda, in whose minster at Whitby the first bishop-designate of Worcester and the first bishop who actually ruled the diocese were trained, and St. Wulfstan, by whose influence the old Bristol slave trade was suppressed, might well have found a place and name amongst us.

The mother church of the diocese in its present character is the youngest of our ancient churches, for though the abbey church of St. Augustine's was consecrated on Easter Day, 1148, it was not till 1542 that the College of the Holy Trinity, consisting of bishop, dean and canons, was founded within it, and a Diocese of Bristol was formed. The elder serve the youngest, and are honoured by that service of the church in which the bishop's throne is set. It is fitting, moreover, that the bishop should bring up the rear of an ecclesiastical procession.

October 12th, 803 ..	Westbury-on-Trym	Abbot Freothomund attended a council at Cloveshoe.
1086 ..	Bedminster	A priest mentioned in Domesday Book.
1086 ..	Leigh	The Priest Turstin mentioned in Domesday Book.
September 27th, 1105 ..	St. Peter	In the foundation charter of Tewkesbury Abbey appropriated to the support of the monks.
Before 1147 ..	Christ Church	Given by Philip the Priest to Tewkesbury Abbey.
Before 1147 ..	St. Ewen	Given by Earl Robert, of Gloucester, to a Priest Thurstan.
Before 1153 ..	All Saints	Given by Earl Ranulf, of Chester, to St. Augustine's Abbey. He died in 1153.
	St. Nicholas.	
	St Leonard.	
About 1158 ..	St. Mary Redcliff	In a charter of confirmation by Henry II of the property of Salisbury Cathedral a Church of Redcliff is mentioned.
Between 1166 and 1172 ..	St. Mary-le-Port	Given to Keynsham Abbey by Earl William, of Gloucester.
	St. Werburgh.	
About 1180 ..	Clifton	Given to St. Augustine's Abbey by William, of Clifton.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE BRISTOL PARISH CHURCHES (*continued*).

Between 1191 and 1193 ..	St. John the Baptist ..	These churches were confirmed to Tewkesbury Abbey by Henry, Bishop of Worcester.
	St. Michael	
	SS. Philip and Jacob ..	
Between 1170 and 1200 ..	St. Thomas the Martyr.	
December 5th, 1231 ..	Mangotsfield	A chapel of St. Peter's
About 1230 ..	St. Mark.	
About 1235 ..	St. Augustine-the-Less.	
About 1240 ..	St. Stephen	Possibly it succeeded a priory belonging to Glastonbury Abbey.
Before 1303 ..	St. Lawrence	
1342 ..	Holy Cross..	Previously a church of the Templars and Hospitallers, founded probably in the twelfth century.
1374 ..	St. James	Previously a cell of Tewkesbury Abbey, founded about 1140.
Before May 5th, 1438 ..	Stapleton	Licence granted by the Abbot of Tewkesbury to bury at Stapleton.
June 4th, 1542 ..	Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity	Founded in 1148 as the abbey church of St. Augustine, belonging to the Order of Augustinian Canons of St. Victor.

In 1319 the Church of St. Giles, a chapel of St. Leonard's, was destroyed. There seems to be no evidence to show

MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES.

By IDA M. ROPER, F.L.S.

RURAL DEANERY OF CHIPPING CAMPDEN.

ASTON SOMERVILLE CHURCH—Dedication unknown.

Sir John de Somerville, about A.D. 1290.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Rather more than life-size, 6 ft. 10 in. long.
5. The knight is enveloped in a complete suit of chain mail as worn at the end of the thirteenth century. A hauberk reaches nearly to the knees with long sleeves covering the hands. The hood is continuous over the head and is shown to overlap on the right side, where it is fastened by a ring passed through a staple, a narrow cord across the forehead helping to distribute the weight on the iron skull cap beneath. Chausses of mail cover the legs and feet, with straps buckled on the instep to which are attached prick spurs ; at the knees there would have been poleyns of cuir bouilli, but they are now worn quite flat. Over the hauberk is a flowing surcoat, reaching below the knees behind, cut open in front and probably girdled, but the position of the arm hides the cingulum. Fastened loosely across the hips is a broad sword-belt to support obliquely a cross-hilt sword, but the details of the fastening are worn away. Upon the left arm is borne a plain heater shield fastened to a narrow guige passing over the right shoulder. The knight is in the act of sheathing the sword,

the right hand on the pommel, whilst the left appearing from under the shield steadies the scabbard.

6. The head rests on a deep rectangular pillow.

7. The feet, rather wide apart, rest against a block of stone which might have represented an animal.

8. The effigy lies on a flat slab, narrowed towards the bottom, and this is placed on top of a stone coffin which may have been the original tomb of the knight, as it is of the same extreme length.

9. There is no inscription.

Supposed to represent a member of the SOMERVILLE family. [1]

The style of armour shows that the figure belongs to the end of the thirteenth century, and it probably represents Sir John de Somerville, who held the Manor of Aston Somerville in 1250, but the date of his death is unknown.

10. The links of mail are carved on the stone.

11. The figure is sadly mutilated, and has been shamefully treated by the villagers, who at sheepshearing were allowed to whet their knives and shears on it. [2] The top surface is worn flat, and portions of the legs, arms and shield have been sawn away.

12. Placed at the west end of the nave at the entrance to the belfry tower. In the earlier church, rebuilt in 1688, it was in the south or Somerville aisle, and later in a niche on the south side of the church. [3]

13. No illustration is known.

14. The figure is now well preserved and cared for. It must have been a good example of the period.

15. The Manor of Aston Somerville had been in the family of that name from the time of the Conquest, and was held by Sir John de Somerville in 1250. From him it passed to the Musard family, who held it in trust for the Abbot of Evesham until 1304, when Sir John's son, Sir William, came

[1] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 241. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 242.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

into possession and paid a fine of one hundred marks, and he would have been the one to erect this monument to his father. His son William was seized of the manor in 1326. [1]

ASTON-SUB-EDGE CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Andrew.

No traces are to be found of a mural monument with a half-length effigy of the REV. THOMAS FAWSET, Rector, died A.D. 1636, formerly erected on the north side of the chancel. [2]

The church was rebuilt in 1797 on the site of an older one.

CHIPPING CAMPDEN CHURCH—Dedicated to St. James.

THOMAS SMITH, A.D. 1593.

1. Military. Esquire in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Freestone.
4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.
5. The figure is dressed in a suit of Elizabethan armour without the usual elaborate decoration. A breastplate, ridged and peascod, has attached a backplate and small pauldrons with epaulières of two plates, and on the right breast is the remains of a lance rest. Round the throat is a gorget of three plates with a narrow ruff inside, of a single fold, and on the arms hinged brassarts, vambraces and tight coudes with narrow ruffles at the wrists. Attached to the breastplate are two short tassets of Almayne rivets (not shown divided) over equally short puffed breeches. The legs are in cuisses and jambes, both hinged and fastened on the outside by latch and staple, and they meet laminated solerets with rowel spurs screwed to the heels; the genouillères are of three plates, close fitting, with the side pieces heart-shaped. Passed twice round the neck is a long chain of open links to the waist. A narrow sword-belt is hooked at the waist, and a sword with basket hilt is on the left

1 Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 241.
2 Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 88.

supported by a sliding hanger from the right, and a narrow sling hooked on the other side. The hair is shown short and wavy with pointed beard, side whiskers and drooping moustache. The hands are raised in prayer and show a signet ring on the first finger of the right hand.

6. The figure lies on a platted mattress rolled under a tilting helm on which the head rests.

7. The feet are placed against the crest: Two wingless wyverns addorsed and entwined.

8. A lofty Renaissance monument placed in a corner against the wall. A handsome rectangular canopy is formed of five fluted columns with Renaissance capitals supporting a narrow frieze ornamented with scrollwork in relief, and above, a pointed pediment containing the coat of arms and crest. The vaulting is panelled, and at the back and side are inscribed tablets framed in scroll- and strap-work. Round the base of the tomb are three panels with figures in low relief of the two wives and their respective children, fifteen in all, divided by pilasters bearing heraldic shields.

In the right-hand panel kneels the first wife facing outwards, dressed in a girdled gown with partlet and ruff over a plain kirtle; a Paris hood with flowing veil, and a small book hanging from the waist by two cords. At her feet lies a chrysom babe, and behind her kneel on cushions and a rush mat four daughters, one shorter than the others, dressed like their mother.

The family is continued in the west-end panel, where there are four sons, including a twin and a little girl. Three of the boys are dressed in armour like their father, the other in doublet and false-sleeved gown.

In the left-hand panel kneels the second wife, in similar costume, except that a long chain hangs from the waist, ending in a lozenge-shaped ornament. At her feet is also a babe, and behind her kneel two sons in buttoned doublets, narrow puffed breeches and tight hose, the elder in a gown with false sleeves, the younger in a short cloak and holding a book in the right hand. Behind them are two daughters dressed like the mother.

The heraldry is as follows :—

On pediment :

" (Sable) a fess between three saltires (or)," SMITH.

Crest on esquire's helmet with mantling and wreath :

Two (amphabames)[1] wingless wyverns addorsed and entwined azure langued gules.[2]

Three shields on front of base :

(*a*) SMITH.

(*b*) SMITH, impaling quarterly—

(1) " (Gules) on a chevron argent three bars gemelles (sable)," THROCKMORTON.

(2) " Argent a fess embattled between six crosses crosslet fitchy 3 and 3 (gules) [should be on the fess three crescents of the field]," OLNEY.

(3) " (Sable) a chevron between three crescents (or)," SPINEY.

(4) " (Gules) three bird-bolts, points downwards, argent," BOSON.

(*c*) SMITH, impaling quarterly—

(1 and 4) " Argent a chief vairy (or and gules) over all a bend (azure) and on bend a crescent of the first for difference," FITZHERBERT.

(2 and 3) " (Azure) a cross moline quarter pierced (or)," MOLYNEUX.

Two shields at west end :

(*a*) SMITH.

(*b*) The crest on wreath as above.[3]

The arms and crest were granted to Thomas Smith by Sir C. Barker, Garter, on September 4th, 1542, and confirmed by Sir G. Dethick, Garter.[4]

[1] *i.e.* serpents who can go backwards and forwards ; heraldically drawn as a flying serpent, with two dragon's feet and the tail ending in a serpent's head, and with a dragon's head.

[2] Harl. MS., 1359. [3] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxv, p. 197.

[4] See *Grants and Certificates of Arms*, quoted in *The Genealogist*, N.S., vol. xxvi, p. 122.

9. Inscription at back of tomb :—

"Hic jacet sepultus, vir verus Christianus, Thomas Smith Armiger quondam Manerii de Campden Dominus A pueritia sua aulicus, qui suo tempore fuit, e consiliis Regiis marchie Walliae bisque vicecomes comitatus Glocestrie ac justitiarius pacis eiusdem comitatus usque ad extremu ætatis ; qui habuit duas uxores primam Elizabetham Filiam et Hæredem Eustali Fitzharbert Armigeri : secundam Katharinam filiam Georgii Throckmorton Militis cum filius and filiabus ut hic patet qui obiit die . . .

An°. Dom. 1593."

At east end :

"Credo videre bona domini in terram viventium.

Psal XXVII."

THOMAS SMITH, died 1593, aged about 72.

10. The crest, helmet and mantling are the only parts painted.

11. The lower part of the sword is broken away, also the heads of the wyverns at the feet.

12. Placed in the north-east corner of the chancel within the sanctuary.

13. Illustrated in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.* vol. xxiv, p. 53, and in *Notices Relating to Thomas Smith of Campden*, by C. P. Groilt, London, 1836, privately printed. The inscription is given in Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 323.

14. The general condition is good. The effigy is finely carved, and the details and fastenings of the armour are faithfully represented.

15. Thomas Smith, who was a wealthy member of an old Campden family, obtained for himself a grant of arms at an early age in order to add to his dignity. He held the lordships of the Manor of Campden in the time of Henry VIII, having acquired the whole of it partly by inheritance and partly by purchase. He is described as a courtier, and was sheriff of the

county in 1571 and 1583, as well as a member of the Council of Wales. He was twice married, his first wife, who died in 1559, being Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Eustace Fitzherbert, and his second, Catherine, daughter of Sir George Throckmorton, Knt., and widow of Robert Winter.

His son Anthony sold the Manor of Campden in 1609–10 to Sir Baptist Hickes, afterwards Viscount Campden, whose effigy lies in the church. [1]

BAPTIST LORD HICKES, 1st VISCOUNT CAMPDEN, A.D. 1629, and WIFE.

1. Civilian and lady. In coronation robes.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. White marble, the canopy of Egyptian marble.
4. Life-size. The man 6 ft. and the lady 5 ft. 9 in. long.
5. The Viscount wears the robes in which he was invested according to the rules laid down by James I, viz. the surcoat and mantle. The surcoat is shown as a loosely-fitting garment, girdled at the waist, with tight sleeves fastened by four buttons and ending in narrow ruffles. The velvet mantle is gracefully draped about the body, and turned back in places to show the lining of miniver. A cape or tippet, doubled with three rows of miniver, reaches to the elbow, and the fur hood belonging to the surcoat is pulled out round the neck and appears below the large outstanding ruff of four folds. On the head he wears a viscount's coronet, a circlet of gold with sixteen "pearls" or balls closely set round the upper edge, and its velvet cap turned up with miniver and a bullion tassel on the top. The hair is rather curly, the beard small and pointed, and the moustache drooping. The left hand clasps a sword with curved hilt, the blade of which disappears within the folds of the mantle; the right hand lies at his side. The feet are in high-heeled shoes with thick soles and square toes.

The Viscountess wears the coronation mantle over her ordinary dress, of which is visible only a tight-fitting bodice with

[1] Percy C. Rusken, *Handbook of Chipping Campden*, p. 4.

pleated partlet and full handruffs at the wrists. The mantle is shown lined with miniver like her husband's, with a cape over the arms doubled with three rows of fur. It is draped about the body, and is fastened at the throat by a massive brooch of gold and jewels, and above is a large fluted ruff of one fold. The hair is closely curled and confined by a narrow, lace-edged cap, over which is arranged a coverchief reaching to the waist behind, and on top a small viscount's coronet of sixteen "pearls" or balls without the velvet cap. The hands are folded at the waist, and the feet are hidden by the mantle.

6. The head and shoulders of both figures rest on a full cushion with large tassels, and decorated with cording on the one and wide gimp on the other.

7. There is nothing at the feet.

8. On a high rectangular table tomb, with panels on the four sides, is a very handsome lofty monument consisting of an entablature, supported by twelve massive columns of Egyptian marble, with plain-moulded capitals and bases forming a peristyle, within which on a fourteen-inch black marble slab rest the effigies. Above the entablature is an interrupted pediment on each side to contain the coats of arms and inscribed tablets.

In general appearance the monument resembles those of Queen Elizabeth, died 1603, and of Mary, Queen of Scots, erected after 1616, in Westminster Abbey, but the canopy is not so elaborate.

The heraldry is as follows :—

At west end :

"Gules a fess wavy between three fleurs-de-lis or," HICKES.

Crest on a peer's helmet, out of viscount's coronet, with wreath and mantling : A buck's head couped or.

Supporters : Two bulls argent armed or.

At each end :

HICKES, impaling—

"Gules a fess between eight billets or," MAY.

Above is a viscount's coronet supported by two cherub heads.

9. Inscription in gold lettering.

On the north side :—

" To the Memorie of her deare and deceased husband Baptist Lord Hickes, Viscount Campden. Borne of a worthy family in the Citie of London ; who by the Blessing of God on his ingenious endeavors, arose to an ample estate, and to the foresaid degrees of Honour ; and out of those blessings, disposed to Charitable uses, in his lifetime, a large portion, to ye value of 10000L who lived religiously, vertuously and generously, to the age of 78 yeares : and died Octo 18. 1629.

" Elizabeth Viscountesse Campden

" His deare consort, borne of the family of the Mays, lived his wife in all peace and contentment, the space of 45 yeares, leaving issue by her said Lord and husband two daughters, Juliana maried to Edward Lord Noel, now Viscount Campden and Maria maried to Sr Charles Morison Knt and Baronett, hath piously and carefully caused this monument to be erected as a testimonie of their mutuall Love, where both their bodies may rest together in expectation of a joyfull resurrection."

On the south side :—

" Ad terram Campdenicam

" Campdena fælix, possides largas opes ; corpus patroni quæ recondis optimi ; dominum potentum prædiis, et qui addidit istis honorum flosculos terris novos. Domino sepulchrum prebeas ; ille ædibus decoravit amplis, hortulis nitidis, agrum tuum, nec ædem negligi est passus Dei, sed indigentes forte sustinuit pia vivo voluptas, mortuo fac sis quies.

" Hic et pudicam, quæ socia vitæ fuit, tenes matronam corpus hoc geminum foue resuscitandum et contegas almo sinu."

BAPTIST LORD HICKES, 1st Viscount Campden, died October 18th, 1629, aged 78.

VISCOUNTESS ELIZABETH, his wife.

10. The inscription and heraldry are the only parts painted.

11. There are no mutilations. The monument was erected by Viscountess Campden.

12. Placed in the centre of the south chapel of the chancel. A covenant, dated August 30th, 1629, between Lord Baptist and the parish, entitles him to sole property to this chapel for the burial of his family. [1]

13. Illustrated in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.* vol. xxiv, p. 54, and the inscription is given in the county histories.

14. The monument is in excellent condition.

From Nicholas Stone's diary it is known that about this time he was engaged on a monument for Sir Charles Morison, of Cashiobury, co. Herts, whose wife was the younger daughter of Lord Baptist, and therefore it is not unlikely that Stone or his sons were also the artists for this monument. [2]

15. Baptist Hickes, born in 1551, was the third and youngest surviving son of Robert Hickes, a rich London retail mercer, and grandson of John Hickes, of Tortworth, co. Gloucester. Baptist continued his father's flourishing business at the White Bear, Cheapside, and supplied the Court with silken goods as well as lending large sums of money to James I, who in return knighted him at his coronation in 1603. Seven years later Sir Baptist bought the Chipping Campden estates from Anthony Smith and others, and built a splendid mansion there, to be, however, ruthlessly destroyed by fire in 1645 during the Civil War by Sir Henry Bard, the Royalist, to prevent its conversion into a garrison for the Parliamentarians. In 1620 he was created a baronet, and in 1628 Charles I raised him to the peerage as Baron Hickes of Ilmington, co. Warwick, and Viscount Campden, with special remainder to his son-in-law, Edward Lord Noel.

In 1585 he had married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard May, a member of the Merchant Taylors Company, London, and sister of Sir Humphrey May, the eminent statesman.

[1] Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 282, note. [2] *Ibid.*

By her he had two sons and three daughters, of whom Juliana, afterwards Lady Noel, and Maria, the wife of Sir Charles Morison, alone survived him and were his co-heirs.

A long list of his benefactions are given in Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. 1633), pp. 760, 761.

Sir Michael Hickes, secretary to Lord Burghley and the ancestor of the present Hicks-Beach family, was the eldest brother of Baptist.[1]

HON. PENELOPE NOEL, A.D. 1633.

1. Lady.

2. Half-length figure.

3. White marble, the recess of alabaster with pillars of black marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The lady is represented in a tight-fitting bodice of ribbed material, loosely laced in front, cut low, and edged with a beautiful pattern of Vandyke lace, above being visible the puffed border of the muslin chemisette. Large padded sleeves reach nearly to the wrists, and end in pleated hand-ruffs edged with rich lace. Close round the neck is a string of beads. The hair is arranged in small tight curls, a loose strand being brought forward over the left shoulder. The right hand presses a small oblong book against the breast, whilst the left holds a tasselled work-bag at the waist.

8. The figure is placed within an arched recess with panelled vaulting and two plain columns. Reclining on the arch are two nude and winged cherubs holding an elliptical wreath of bay and twisted ribbons, which frames the coat of arms. Below the figure is an inscribed tablet resting on a cherub's-head bracket.

The arms on a lozenge shield are :—

Quarterly of 6—

(1) "Or fretty gules a canton ermine," NOEL.

[1] Mrs. W. Hicks-Beach, *A Cotswold Family*, pp. 83–101.

(2) "Gules semée of nine crosses crosslet fitchy a lion rampant or," HOPTON.

(3) "Azure semée of nine crosses crosslet, three boars' heads couped close or," HEVYN.

(4) "Argent semée of eight (should be nine) crosses crosslet, sable and azure, two organ pipes in pile, mouths in chief gules," DOWNTON.

(5) "Barry of six or and gules," ST. OWEN.

(6) "Azure a lion rampant argent within bordure engrailed or," TYRELL.

9. Inscription below figure :—

"The Most Exquisite Model of Nature's best Workmanship. Ye Richest Magazin of all Divine and Mortal Vertues.

PENELOPE NOEL.

Having added to the Nobilitie of her Birth a brighter Shyne of true Noblenesse, ye Exemplarie sweetnesse of her Conversation her Contempt of earthly vanities, and her Zealous affection towards Heaven, after 22 yeares Devotions commended her Virgin Sowle unto ye hands of its true Brydegroome JESUS CHRIST May 17 A^o. 1633. Over whose pretious Dust here reserved her sad Parents Edward L^d. Noel Visc Campden and the Lady Julian his Wyfe dropt their Teares and Erected this Marble to the Deare Memorie of their invaluable losse.

Superata tellus Sidera donat."

HON. PENELOPE NOEL, died May 17th, 1633, aged 22.

10. The details of the recess are gilded, as well as the hair of the cherubs, and the leaves of the wreath are green.

11. There are no mutilations.

12. Placed on the south-east wall of the south chapel of the chancel.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 323.

14. In excellent condition. The drapery is finely carved, and must have been done by a sculptor whose work, although

of the same period, is superior to that often attributed to Nicholas Stone and his workmen.

15. Penelope was the youngest and third daughter of Edward Noel, 2nd Viscount Campden, and Juliana, eldest daughter and co-heir of Baptist Lord Hickes.[1]

She was the subject of "An Elegy," written in English by Alexander Gill, D.D.[2] A monument to her parents is in the same chapel.

LADY ANNE NOEL, A.D. 1636.

1. Lady.
2. Half-length figure.
3. Alabaster with pillars of black marble.
4. Life-size.
5. The lady wears a tight-fitting bodice with three-quarter sleeves, slashed lengthways to show the puffed sleeves of the chemisette beneath, ending in spreading ruffles, and over them from the shoulders short, false sleeves loosely fastened above the elbow. There is a deep, rounded collar, edged with wide lace, and round the throat is a string of beads with a pendent cross, and stretching from shoulder to shoulder are two other rows of beads with a large cinquefoil ornament in the centre. The hair hangs loose about the neck in numerous curls, and the hands are folded in front over a small book.
8. The figure is placed within a very shallow arched recess, with two plain columns to support an interrupted pediment and coat of arms. Below are two tablets, the lower one alone inscribed, and resting on a Death's-head bracket.

The arms are: "Or fretty gules a canton ermine," NOEL.

Impaling "Argent on a fess azure three lozenges or," FEILDING.

9. Inscription below figure:—

"To the Sacred Memorie of the Lady Anne Noel, second Daughter of William Earle of Denbigh, who was maried

[1] Burke, *Peerage*.

[2] See *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1633–4, p. 373.

to Mr Baptist Noel, eldest Sonne of Edward Lord Noel and Hicks Viscount Campden, shee changed this Life for a better the 24th of March in the Yeare of Salvation 1636. Shee had yssue by her said Husband 3 sonnes, the eldest Charles, also the second Charles, and the third Edward which 3 Sonnes deseased before eyther of them accomplished the age of 2 yeares."

LADY ANNE NOEL, died March 24th, 1636.

10. The edges of the book and the details of the recess are gilded.

11. There are no mutilations.

12. Placed on the north-east wall of the south chapel of the chancel.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, page 283.

14. In excellent condition.

15. Lady Anne was the second daughter of Sir William Feilding, 1st Earl of Denbigh, and Susan, daughter of Sir George Villiers, Kt., of Brokesby, co. Leicester. She became the first wife of Baptist Noel, 2nd Baron Noel and 3rd Viscount Campden, the elder son of Lord Edward Noel and Lady Juliana, whose monument is in the same chapel. [1]

EDWARD LORD NOEL, 2nd VISCOUNT CAMPDEN, A.D. 1642, and WIFE.

1. Civilian and lady.

2. Standing effigies.

3. White marble with part of the tomb of black marble.

4. More than life-size.

5. Both figures are standing draped in their shrouds, which fall about them in full folds to the feet and are knotted above their heads. Amidst the drapery are shown plain undergarments fastened at the throat. The man wears his hair in long curls to the shoulders, and has a heavy moustache and small imperial beard. With his left hand he holds his

[1] Burke, *Peerage*.

wife's right hand, whilst the other brings the edge of the shroud forward over the body. The lady's hair falls loose to below the shoulders, and her left hand is pressed against her breast. To show an easy pose, a bare foot of each is placed a little forward.

7. Both stand on rounded pedestals five inches high.

8. A lofty, upright, arched sepulchre or vault with its doors, on hinges, thrown back to disclose within the standing effigies hand-in-hand turned slightly towards each other. It is supported nearly four feet off the ground on a plain base, and is framed on either side by a massive Corinthian pillar bearing a cornice and heavy interrupted pediment with the coat of arms and crest. In the centre of the cornice is a wreathed Death's head, and in the spandrels are three shields with arms, and a fourth framed in scrollwork is at the back of the vault between the heads of the figures.

The arms without tinctures are as follows :—

At the top of the tomb : " (Or) fretty (gules) a canton ermine," NOEL.

Crest on a peer's helmet out of viscount's coronet with wreath and mantling : A buck statant at gaze (argent) attired (or).

Supporters : Two bulls (argent) armed and unguled (sable) surmounted by viscount's coronet.

The motto is missing.

Shield in centre : NOEL as above.

On dexter spandrel : Quarterly of 6—

(1) " (Or) fretty (gules) a canton ermine," NOEL.

(2) " (Gules) semée of nine crosses crosslet fitchy a lion rampant (or)," HOPTON.

(3) " (Azure) semée of nine crosses crosslet three boars' heads couped close (or)," HEVYN.

(4) " (Argent) semée of nine crosses crosslet (sable and azure) two organ pipes in pile mouths in chief (gules)," DOWNTON.

(5) " Barry of six (or and gules)," ST. OWEN.

(6) " (Azure) a lion rampant (argent) within bordure engrailed (or) (may be argent)," TYRELL.

On sinister spandrel, quarterly—

(1 and 4) " (Gules) a fess wavy between three fleurs-de-lis (or) with crescent in chief," HICKES.

(2 and 3) " (Gules) a chevron ermine between three clarions (or)," ARTHUR.

At back of vault :—

" (Or) fretty (gules) a canton ermine," NOEL.

Impaling " (Gules) a fess wavy between three fleurs-de-lis or," HICKES.

9. Inscription on the inner side of the open doors :—

On the right—

" This Monument
Is erected to preserve
The Memory and Pourtrait
of the Right Honorable
Sir Edward Noel Vicount Campden
Baron Noel of Ridlington
and Hicks of Ilmington :
A Lord
of Heroik high parts and Presence
He was Knight Banneret
in the Warrs of Ireland
being Young :
And then Created Baronet
Anno 1611. He was afterwards made
Baron of Ridlington.
The other Titles came unto him
By Right of Dame Juliana his Wife
Who stands Collaterall to him
in this Monument :
A Lady
of Extraordinary great
Endowments both of Vertue
and Fortune
This Goodly Lord
Died at Oxford at ye beginning
of the late Fatall Civil Warrs,
whither he went to Serve

and assist His Sovuerain Prince
Charles the First:
And so was Exalted
to the Kingdome of Glory
8º Martij 1642."

On the left—

"The Lady Juliana
Eldest Daughter, and Coheire
(of that Mirror of his time)
Sr Baptist Hicks Vicount Campden
She was married
To that Noble Lord
Who is here Engraven by her
By whom she had Baptist
Lord Vicount Campden now living
(Who is Blessed
With a Numerous & Gallant Issue)
Henry her second Son
Died a Prisoner
For his Loyalty to his Prince.
Her eldest daughter Elizabeth
was Married
to John Vicount Chaworth.
Mary her Second Daughter
To the very Noble Knight
Sr Erasmus De la Fontaine.
Penelope
Her Youngest Daughter
Died a Mayd.
This Excellent Lady
for the Pious
And Unparallelld affections
She retain'd to the Memory
of her Deceased Lord
Caused this Stately Monument
To be Erected in her lifetime
in September
Anno Dom 1664."

EDWARD LORD NOEL, 2nd VISCOUNT CAMPDEN, died March 8th, 1642.

LADY JULIANA, his wife, died November 25th, 1680, aged 95.

10. The inscription is the only part gilded.

11. There are no mutilations.

"Joshua Marshall Lond. Sculptor fecit" is inscribed on a narrow band of the cornice.[1]

12. Placed against the south wall of the south chapel of the chancel.

13. The monument is partly illustrated in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiv, p. 54, and the inscription is given in the county histories.

14. The general condition is excellent.

15. Edward Noel was the eldest son of Sir Andrew Noel, Knt., of Dalby, co. Leicester, and Mabel, sixth daughter of Sir James Harrington, Knt. When young he was made a knight banneret during the wars in Ireland, was created a baronet in 1611, and elevated to the peerage, by letters patent, dated March 23rd, 1616–17, as Baron Noel of Ridlington in the county of Rutland. He married in 1605 Juliana, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Baptist Hickes, Knt., who was in 1628 further advanced to the peerage as Baron Hickes and Viscount Campden for life with remainder after death to this son-in-law. On the breaking out of the Civil War Lord Noel raised forces for the royal cause, and died in his garrison at Oxford in 1642, and was succeeded by his elder son, Baptist, whose heir by his third wife was created Earl of Gainsborough in 1682.[2]

Lady Juliana, who bore him two sons and three daughters, erected this monument to her husband's memory twenty-two

[1] Joshua Marshall was master mason to Charles II, and lived in Fleet Street. He and his brother Edward were the successors of Nicholas Stone, and monuments by them are found in several counties."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1818, p. 493, note.

[2] Burke, *Peerage*.

years after his death, and survived him thirty-eight years, dying at Exton, co. Rutland, in 1680, aged 95.[1]

CLIFFORD CHAMBERS CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Helen.

SIR HENRY RAINSFORD, A.D. 1622, and WIFE.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.
2. Kneeling effigies.
3. Alabaster, with columns of black marble.
4. Life-size.

5. The man wears a backplate and peascod breastplate, with large pauldrons fastened to epaulières of three plates; brassarts, rounded coudes and vambraces. From the breastplate two tassets of Almayne rivets hang loosely over half cuisses, strapped in two places across full trunk hose to the knees. The legs are shown protected by rounded genouillères and hinged jambes, which meet laminated solerets without spurs. Round the neck is a falling ruff of three folds, at the wrists deep pleated cuffs, and at the edges of the armour the leather lining is shown. A slender sword-belt, hooked on the left, passes diagonally across the tassets, but no weapon is attached. The hair is worn long and curly, brushed off the forehead, with a small spade beard and moustache. The hands are raised in prayer.

The lady is dressed in a flowing gown covering the feet, with a tight-fitting bodice and plain pointed stomacher, without the usual girdle. Over it she wears a sleeveless mantle falling in folds behind, with plain epaulets and a falling ruff of a single fold. At the wrists are deep plain cuffs. The hair is brushed back over pads, and confined by a tight-fitting Paris hood with upturned veil (mutilated). The hands are raised in prayer.

7. The figures kneel on oblong tasselled cushions, decorated with a band of scrollwork. Between them is a faldstool with

[1] Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 283, note.

elaborate pedestal of scrollwork, covered by a fringed cloth, and on it rest two open books. At the base of the stool is shown a pair of gauntlets, and on the wall above the man's head a knight's helmet in relief.

8. A mural monument with a shallow recess, supported by two Renaissance pillars on plinths and corbels, bearing a plain entablature and semi-circular canopy, with panelled vaulting and three wild birds pitched on top. Beneath the vaulting are the escutcheon and crest and inscribed tablet, and above the lady's head her arms on a lozenge. Below the monument, on a panel, are the figures of two sons in high relief, about a foot high, standing facing outwards and dressed in armour like the father, with the addition of a sword and dagger attached to their belts. Beside them is a baby boy in swaddling clothes, with bib and wide cap. On either side of them are framed tablets, the one only bearing an inscription.

The heraldry is as follows :—

Escutcheon in centre, quarterly of 15—

(1) " (Argent) a cross (sable)," RAINSFORD.

(2) " (Azure) an eagle displayed (argent) ducally gorged (or)," WYLCOTT OF WYLCOTTS.

(3) " (Azure) an eagle displayed (argent) beaked (or)," WYLCOTT OF GREAT TEW.

(4) " (Sable) on a chief (argent) three lozenges gules," MOLLINS.

(5) " (Argent) an eagle displayed gules," HALL.

(6) " Gules a chevron ermine between three stags trippant (or)," GREENE.

(7) " (Argent) a chief indented (azure)," GLANVILLE.

(8) " Per pale (or and azure) a chevron ermine," LIONS.

(9) " Gules on a chevron (argent) between three garbs (or) a cinquefoil of the field," SCOCATHE.

(10) " (Argent) a chevron between three cinquefoils gules," WAKESTED.

(11) " (Argent) a chevron engrailed between three escallops (sable)," ADDERBURGH.

(12) "Vairée gules and (argent) on a bend (sable) three boars' heads couped close (argent) tusked (or)," PURSCELL.

(13) "(Or) three bears' heads muzzled, erased (sable)," BERWICKE.

(14) "(Argent) three bendlets (azure), on a canton (sable) a lion passant (or)," SHERSALL.

(15) "(Or) three chevronels interlaced (sable) on a chief gules three plates," PRATTELL.

Crest on knight's helmet, with wreath and tasselled mantling: a reindeer's head erased proper.

Motto on scroll: "Tous jours Loyall."

On lozenge: "(Argent) a cross (sable)," RAINSFORD.

Impaling "(Gules) a fess between two chevrons vair," GOODERE.

9. Inscription between the figures:—

"Sir Henry Rainsford of Clifford in the County of Gloc' Knight (Sonne of Hercules Rainsford Esq) Died the 27th of January 1622 in the yeare of his age 46: He married Ann, Daughter and Co-Heire of Sr Henry Goodere of Polsworth in the County of War: Kni wth whom he lived 27 yeares and had issu 3 sons. Williā Died: Henry married Elianor Daughter and Co-Heire of Robert Boswell of Combe in ye County of Southamp' Esq and Francis . . ."

On tablet beneath the man:—

"Henrico (heu charū caput) Herculis Fi. Rainsffordi Eq. Aur. huiusq dum vixit villæ Dnō: Ingentis animi viro nec ideo prudentis aut mitis minus. Ad honesta quæcunq; nato, ad meliora regresso, fratri charissimo & (quod pulchrius) amico. Cum lectissima & luctuosissima coniuge eius eorunq; duobus filiis patrizantibus. Henricus, Guliel: Fi: Gooderus tanti vix damni & doloris superstes dum suis & suorum lachrymis indulget,

merentissimè
mærentissimus P.L.

Nec minus exultat in memoria & exemplo

Tantæ { Charitatis, Industriæ, Pietatis .. } cuius testis { Uxor, familia, amicorum consensus; Patria, patriæq colonia Virginia; Deus. }

Nec sibi exoptat aliud monumentum aut meliorem famam quam quod tantarum virtutum testis sit HENRICUS GOODERUS."

Over head of infant : " Of such is the Kingdom of God."

SIR HENRY RAINSFORD, Knt., died January, 27th, 1622, aged 46.

ANN, his wife.

The date of his death is given wrongly in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiv, pp. 93 and 98.

10. The figures are not coloured, but traces of red paint are visible on the sword-belt ; the gauntlets are black and the cloth on the faldstool green. The tinctures on the shields are worn away except the gules.

11. The top of the lady's veil is broken away, and the figures of the sons are mutilated about the head and arms. The long and slender hands of the effigies are probably restorations.

12. Placed on the north wall of the chancel within the sanctuary.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in the county histories and in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiv, p. 93.

14. The monument is in good condition.

15. The Rainsford family came originally from the counties of Lancashire and Oxon., and in 1561 Charles Rainsford, the grandfather of this Sir Henry, purchased the Manor of Clifford Chambers which had formerly belonged to the Abbey of Gloucester, and it remained in the family until 1649, when it was sold to the Deightons. Sir Henry Rainsford, born in 1576, was the only son of Hercules Rainsford, and married Ann, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Goodere, Knt.,

of Polsworth, co. Warwick, by whom he had three sons: William, died before his father; Henry, baptised 1599 and knighted at Tutbury in 1624; and Francis, knighted at Theobalds in 1632.[1] For a few years before his death he was a member of the Court of the Virginian Company of London.

DIDBROOK CHURCH—Dedicated to St. George.

In the churchyard, lying in the grass and overgrown with moss and lichen, is a small stone coffin slab, about four feet long, and on it is carved in low relief a man's head under a gabled canopy; beneath it is a floriated Latin cross.

The church of Didbrook was founded in 1475 by the last Abbot of Hayles, whereas this slab probably belongs to the end of the thirteenth century, and must therefore have been brought to this church from some earlier edifice. It may have come from Hayles Abbey itself, where it commemorated an important ecclesiastical living there during the first fifty years of its foundation.

An illustration is given in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii, p. 14.

HAYLES ABBEY.

During the excavation of the presbytery in 1900 fragments of a stone effigy in chain mail were discovered, which it is suggested were part of the effigy erected to the memory of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall.[2]

The pieces consist of a portion of an arm in mail showing the relieving strap at the wrist, a hand grasping the hilt of a sword, and a portion of the thigh, also in mail, the rings carved in the stone. These are now preserved under glass in the small museum established in the grounds.

The Cistercian Abbey of Hayles was founded by Richard, a brother of King Henry III, who held the title of King of the

[1] Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 385; *The Genealogist*, ii, 106.
[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii, p. 44.

Romans from the year 1257, and married Sanchia of Provence, a sister of Eleanor, Henry III's Queen. Their second son, named Edmund, was born at Berkhampstead on December 26th, 1250, and seventeen years later he purchased on the Continent a relic of the Holy Blood brought from Jerusalem, and in 1270 endowed with it the Abbey of Hayles in honour of his father, Richard. This added immensely to the importance and wealth of Hayles, and caused the abbot to be willing to receive his body when he died at Ashridge, Bucks, in 1300, and probably to erect a handsome tomb to him and his wife over the place of burial in the north-west corner of the presbytery. Hayles surrendered to the King on December 24th, 1539, and was in later years levelled to the ground. [1]

DUMBLETON CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Peter.

SIR CHARLES PERCY, KNT., A.D. 1628 and WIFE.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.
2. Kneeling effigies.
3. Stone.
4. Nearly life-size.
5. The man is represented as a short, stout figure, dressed in a backplate and peascod breastplate with pauldrons, brassarts, large heart-shaped coudes and vambraces. Buckled twice to the rim of the breastplate are two tassets of seven Almayne rivets reaching to the knees and strapped across long, puffed breeches. The legs are shown protected by rounded genouillères and hinged jambs, which meet pointed solerets with rowel spurs fastened to the heels (rowels broken off). Round the neck is a deep falling collar, at the wrists narrow cuffs, and at the edges of the armour the leather lining is shown. Encircling the waist and knotted on the left side is a heavy

[1] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 488; *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 7, 7, 278.

scarf, but no weapon is attached. The hair is worn long, with a pointed beard and moustache. The right hand rests on the breast, and the left hangs at the side.

The lady is dressed in a flowing gown covering the feet, with a tight-fitting bodice laced down the centre. It has a narrow basque, battlemented and girdled by a folded scarf tied in a bow. At the neck it is cut square to show a plain partlet and large ruff of a single fold, whilst the sleeves are full with pleated cuffs. The long, curly hair is enveloped in a coverchief arranged in folds over the forehead and reaching to the feet behind, with one end brought forward and held by the left hand, the right hand being at the waist.

7. The figures kneel facing one another on square, tasselled cushions on either side of a faldstool, with two open books on a fringed cloth. At the base of the stool a babe lies sideways on a tasselled cushion wrapped in swaddling bands, with a bib and lace-edged cap and coverchief.

8. A mural monument with a deep arched recess, supported by two Renaissance pillars from plain corbels that bear a cornice with cinquefoil bosses, and a square panel with the escutcheon and crest in the centre, and an obelisk on either side. The vaulting is panelled, enclosing large foliated quatrefoils, and at the back between the figures is a shield with arms.

The arms on escutcheon, quarterly—

(1 and 4) "Or a lion rampant azure," ANCIENT ARMS OF THE DUKE OF BRABANT AND LOVAINE.

(2 and 3) "Gules three lucies hauriant argent," LUCY.

Crest on knight's helmet and a chapeau gules turned up ermine: a lion statant, the tail extended azure.

Supporters:—

Dexter: A lion rampant azure.

Sinister: A lion rampant guardant or ducally crowned of the last, gorged with a collar gobony argent and azure.

There is no motto on the scroll.

On shield above effigies, quarterly—

(1 and 4) DUKE OF BRABANT AND LOVAINE.
(2 and 3) LUCY.

Impaling "Sable a chevron between three stags' attires fixed to the scalps argent," COCKS.

9. Inscription on tablet beneath effigies:

"Here lye the Bodies of S[r] Charles Percye, Knight 3rd Sonne of the Earle of Northumb: and of Dame Dorothy his Wife, the Daughter of Thomas Cocks of Cleeve Esq and of Anne their Daughter. S[r] Charles was buried the 9th Day of July, Ano Doni 1628; Dame Dorothy the 28th of June, Ano Doni 1646."

SIR CHARLES PERCY, Knt., died July, 1628.

DOROTHY, his wife, died June, 1646.

ANNE, their daughter.

10. The features are painted flesh colour, the armour black, with breeches and scarf red; the lady's garments black, and those of the babe red. The details of the canopy are gilded, and the cushions painted red and green.

11. The noses of both figures are chipped, and two fingers of the lady are broken off.

12. Placed on the north wall of the chancel within the sanctuary.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 421.

14. The monument is in good condition. The figures are coarsely carved.

15. Sir Charles Percy, Knt., was the fourth son (not the third, as stated in the inscription) of Henry Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland, died 1596, and Katherine, the eldest daughter and co-heir of John Nevill, Lord Latimer. He adopted a military career, and married the widow of Edmond Hutchins, Esq., and daughter of Thomas Cocks, a younger branch of an important Kentish family, which removed into Gloucestershire in the time of Henry VIII.[1]

His only child, Anne, predeceased him.

[1] Burke, *Peerage;* Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 420.

CHARLES COCKS, A.D. 1654.

1. Civilian.

2. Bust.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size.

5. The bust represents a middle-aged man with curly hair, a close-cropped beard and drooping moustache. The shoulders are heavily draped with a knotted scarf, leaving the throat bare.

8. The bust on a small pedestal is placed within a narrow oval recess, which is wreathed with oak leaves, knotted drapery and flowers. Below is an inscribed tablet, framed in acanthus leaves, and resting on a cherub's head with flowing locks.

9. Inscription :—

"Memoriæ Sacrum
Caroli Cocks Arm filii quarti Thomæ Cocks
De Cleeve in Agro Gloucestriensi Armigeri
Qui obiit decimo quinto die Augusti
Anno ætatissuæ octogessimo tertio
Annoq Dni MDCLIV
Richardus Cocks Bar nepos eiusdem Caroli et
Cui maximam hæbeditatis suæ partem legavit
Carolus Hoc monumentum amoris
et gratitudinis ergo
extruxit."

CHARLES COCKS, died August 15th, 1654, aged 83.

10. There is no painting.

11. The bust is not mutilated.

12. Placed on the north wall of the chancel.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 421.

14. The monument is in very good condition.

15. Charles Cocks was the fourth son of Thomas Cocks, of Cleeve, co. Gloucester, and on the death of his sister Dorothy, the widow of Sir Charles Percy, Knt., he inherited the lordship of the Manor of Dumbleton. [1]

[1] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 420.

EBRINGTON CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Ethelburga.

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, about A.D. 1480.

1. Judicial.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Freestone.
4. Rather more than life-size, 6 ft. 7 in. long.
5. The figure is represented in the legal robes of a Lord Chief Justice. He wears a full, long robe, reaching below the ankles, cassock-like, with wide sleeves and upright collar, and over it the long judicial cloak fastened on the left shoulder beneath the ermine tippet and hood. The hair is brushed off the forehead, and hangs down straight below the neck. The feet are in pointed shoes, and the hands raised in prayer.

The description of the costume of this effigy is of more than usual interest, because there has come down to us a detailed account of the habit of a Chief Justice written by the very man himself whose effigy is here described. By comparing his description with the present figure we see the coif is not represented, the sleeves are not turned up with ermine, and the cloak is fastened on the wrong shoulder. [1]

6. The head rests on a square, tasselled cushion set diagonally, and supported on either side by an angel lying down clothed in an alb.

7. At the feet is a lion couchant with open jaws and protruding tongue.

8. The effigy with its slab rests on a wide table-tomb, which is divided equally into two parts by a second wide slab parallel to the top. The lower part consists of six square panels containing quatrefoils within circles with sprays of foliage, and Tudor roses—typical fifteenth-century work. The upper part is also in six panels, filled alternately with ogee-crocketed canopies and shields with arms. The sides of the tomb are enriched in a similar manner.

[1] Sir John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, c. li.

The cornice has a row of small blank shields, quatrefoils and Tudor roses alternating. On the wall above there is a large inscribed tablet, of later date, between two Ionic pillars of black marble, which support the cornice with the escutcheon and two shields. The inscription states that the monument was erected in 1677, which must refer only to the mural portion, because the effigy and table-tomb belong to the period of Sir John Fortescue's death.

Anthony à Wood, the antiquary, visited Ebrington in 1676, and saw the tomb with "thereon the proportion of a man lying on his back, habited in certain long robes," and Thomas Hearn, another antiquary, died 1735, puts on record his opinion of the early date of the tomb.

The heraldry is as follows :—

On escutcheon : "Azure a bend engrailed argent between two cotises or," FORTESCUE.

On nobility helmet with wreath and mantling a "scutum" argent.

Supporters : Two boars proper langued gules.

Motto : "Forte scutum salus ducum."

Dexter shield : FORTESCUE, impaling dimidiated coats.

(1) "Gules three clarions or," GRENVILLE.

(2) "Argent three crosses crosslet in bend sable," NORTHCOTE.

Sinister shield, quarterly of 6—

(1 and 6) FORTESCUE.

(2) "Or a raven sable," CORBET.

(3) "Gules (should be sable) a mullet in chief and crescent in base or (should be argent)," DENSELL.

(4) "Argent on a bend sable (should be vert) between six crosses crosslet fitchy gules three crosier staves or," WERE.

(5) "Gules a fess vair between six crosses patée fitchy or." FILLEGH.

Three shields on front of tomb and two at side marshalled, FORTESCUE.

9. Inscription on mural tablet :—

"In fœlicem et immortalem memoriam
Clarissimi viri Dni JOHANNIS FORTESCUTI militis grandævi
Angliæ judicis primarij, et processu temporis sub HENRICO VI
Rege, et EDWARDO principe, Summi Cancellarij, Consiliarij Regis
Prudentissimi Legum Angliæ peritissimi, nec non earundem
hyperaspistis fortissimi, qui corporis exuvias, lætam
resurrectionem expectantes, hic deposuit.
Marmoreum hoc Monumentum positum est
Anno Dni MDCLXXVII
Voto and expensis ROBERTI FORTESCUTI Armij ejusdem familiæ hæredis nuper defuncti.

Angligenas intra Cancellos juris et æqui
Qui tenuit cineres jam tenet urna viri
Lex viva ille fuit, patriæ lux splendida legis.
FORTE bonis SCUTUM, sontibus et scutica
Clarus erat titulis, clarus majoribus, arte
Clarus, virtute ast clarior emicuit.
Iam micat in tenebris veluti carbunculus orbi,
Nam virtus radios non dare tanta nequit.
Viuit adhuc FORTESCUTUS laudatus in ævum ;
Viuet et in LEGUM LAUDIBUS ille suis."

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, died about 1480, aged nearly 90.

10. The features are painted flesh colour with brown hair, the robe and cloak red, and the tippet and hood to imitate ermine. The collar of the robe is painted black instead of red. The wings of the angels and the tassels of the crimson cushion are gilded.

11. There are no mutilations.

On a small slab below the tablet is the following :—

" To perpetuate the Memory of that learned and excellent Man CHANCELLOR FORTESCUE This Monument was repaired by his descendant MATTHEW LORD FORTESCUE in the year 1765."

On a brass plate still lower on the wall :—

" Restored by the Rt. Honble. Hugh 3rd Earl Fortescue A.D. 1861."

12. Placed against the north wall of the chancel within the sanctuary.

13. Tomb illustrated and described in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 59 and 194, the effigy illustrated in W. H. Hamilton Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies of Devon* (1877), Plate 13, and the inscription given in Bigland, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 350.

14. The general condition is good. The figure is very coarsely carved and was probably of local workmanship.

15. Sir John Fortescue was the second son of Sir John Fortsecue, who fought at Agincourt, and of Joan, daughter of Henry Norreis, of Devon. He was brought up to the Bar, and in 1442 was constituted Lord Chief Justice of England, and was, perhaps, made Lord Chancellor by Henry VI when he fled with that monarch into Scotland, but he never exercised the duties. He was an eminent judge and the author of the celebrated treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* and many other works. He married, about 1436, Elizabeth, or Isabella, heiress of John Jamyss, of Philip's Norton, near Bath, who brought him property thereabouts, and by her he had an only son, Martin, died 1471, and two daughters.

After the final overthrow of the Lancastrians, Sir John retired to his seat at Ebrington, and dying there at an advanced age was succeeded by his elder grandson, John, and through him the estate at Ebrington has come down in direct succession to its present owner, Earl Fortescue. [1]

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 193–250.

SIR JOHN KEYT, Bart., A.D. 1662, and WIFE.

1. Civilian and lady.
2. Busts.
3. White marble, the canopy of black and white marble.
4. Life-size.
5. The man is represented clean-shaven with long, straight hair parted in the middle, and with the shoulders loosely draped, leaving the throat bare.

The bust of the lady is similarly draped, and she wears her hair parted in front with long curls to the shoulders.

8. A mural monument with the busts on small pedestals placed within shallow-arched recesses, supported by two Ionic columns on fluted corbels with hanging flowers and fruit. Above is a moulded entablature with the escutcheon and crest and two small shields. The spandrels are decorated with festoons of drapery, and below the busts is a large inscribed tablet.

The arms are :—

On the escutcheon, quarterly of 6—

(1 and 6) "(Azure) a chevron between three kites' heads erased (or) with an inescutcheon of the baronet's badge of Ulster," KEYT.

(2) "(Sable) three church bells 2 and 1 argent a canton (ermine)," PORTER.

(3) "(Sable) three salmons hauriant 2 and 1 (proper)," SALMON.

(4) "Argent a bend (azure) between in chief a pierced mullet and in base an annulet (gules)," SAMON.

(5) "(Gules) a fess between six billets argent," STYVELEY.

On escutcheon of pretence—

"(Ermine) on a chief indented (gules) three escallops (or)," TAYLOR.

Crest on baronet's helmet with mantling and wreath: a kite's head erased (or).

Two shields: TAYLOR marshalled with KEYT.

9. Inscription :—

" Dominus Ioannes Keyt, Io: Fil: Guil: Nep:
Baronetris
(qui nuperis motibus ex parte Regis
proprijs sumptibus Hipparchus fuit)
Ex Margareta, Guil: Tayler, Armig: Hærede
Sobolem suscepit
D. Guil: Keyt Baronetum
Ioannem, Thomam et Franciscum
Filios:
Elizabetham Uxorem Io: Talbot, de Lacock
Eq: Aur:
Margaretam uxorem Io: Pakington, fil: et
Hæredis Io: Pakington Baroneti
Diem obijt ille 26 die Aug AD MDCLXII Diem obijt illa 28 die Jun AD MDCLXIX

SIR JOHN KEYT, Bart., died August 26th, 1662, aged 47.
MARGARET, his wife, died June 28th, 1669.

10. There is no painting.

11. The monument is not mutilated.

12. Placed against the south wall of the chancel.

13. No illustration is known. The inscription is given in Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 436.

14. The monument is in excellent condition.

15. Sir John Keyt, a member of a family resident in Ebrington for some 300 years, was the son of John Keyt, Esq., sometime Sheriff of the counties of Gloucester and Worcester. He married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of William Taylor, of Middleton Cheney, and Alice, daughter of Nicholas Odell, *alias* Woodhull, of co. Northampton, by whom he had six children.[1] He was created a baronet on December 22nd, 1660, on account of his loyalty to Charles I, for whom he raised a troop of horse at his own charge, and was succeeded by his son William.[2]

[1] Metcalfe, *Northampton Visitation*, p. 200.
[2] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 435.

HINTON-ON-THE-GREEN CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Peter.

ABBOT WILLIAM HALFORD, after A.D. 1490.

1. Ecclesiastical. Abbot.

2. Incised figure.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size, 5 ft. 6 in. long.

5. The abbot is represented in a flowing cassock covering the feet, having wide, open sleeves and no undergarment visible at the wrists, with a plain tippet and a hood thrown back. The head is tonsured, with straight hair across the forehead, and no cap. The hands are pressed against each other on the breast, and passed through the left arm, inclining to the right side, is a handsome tabernacled pastoral staff with foliated crook.

This is not an ecclesiastical costume, nor does it quite correspond to any of the recognised academical costumes, because of the shape of the simple wide sleeves of the cassock and the absence of the cap. It may, however, represent the figure in the academical dress of a bachelor-of-law with the additional insignia of the pastoral staff, derived from his being at one time an abbot.[1]

6. The head rests on a tasselled pillow, its covering loosely laced on the right side.

7. There is nothing at the feet.

8. The slab, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft., with an inscribed border, is set upright in the wall. Above the head of the figure is an incised Gothic canopy of three pointed arches, cusped and crocketed with pinnacles between. About the middle of either side are two roundels, probably bearing the signs of the Evangelists, but they are so obliterated that only the winged lion of St. Mark can be deciphered.

9. Inscription in Gothic characters:

" [Hic sepelitur] D'ni Will 'mi Halfordiæ, quondam Abbatis

[1] Compare the brasses of Nicholas Wotton, 1482, Great St. Helens', London, and of Richard Spekynton, 1490, All Souls', Oxford.

de Bordesleya, qui feliciter obiit XII die Septembris Anno D'ni millesimo CCCC nonagesimo . . . . . cujus aie propicietur [Deus]."

ABBOT WILLIAM HALFORD died after 1490.

10. The incised lines are painted black.

11. The upper part of the canopy on the right is nearly obliterated, and the lower left corner of the slab is broken away.

12. Placed against the north wall of the chancel within the sanctuary. It was discovered in 1740 lying face downwards in the churchyard. [1]

13. No illustration is known.

14. The slab is in fairly good condition.

15. From the records of the Abbey of Bordesley, co. Worcester, it is known that William Halford made his profession of obedience on November 12th, 1452, and that another abbot, William Bidford, was ruling in 1460; but all traces are lost why William Halford was superseded and what he was doing with himself till his death, which occurred after 1490. On the other hand, it is not known if he were buried in this church, as no connection has been ascertained to exist between Hinton and the Abbey of Bordesley, although it possessed amongst its properties land at Campden and other neighbouring places. [2]

Lying on the floor, near the pulpit on the south side of the nave, are two pieces of a stone figure, discovered about 1890, when making a new path in the village. Only its lower portion remains, and may represent the alb of an ecclesiastic or, more likely, the shorter gown of a civilian in hose or pointed shoes. The form of the stone against which the feet rest may suggest the figure stood upright in a niche rather than that it was lying down as an effigy. On the flat underside of the stone is cut a raised Greek cross about 4 in. in length, the object of which might give rise to several surmises.

1 Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 501.

2 Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1825, vol. v, p. 407.

QUINTON CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Swithin.

SIR WILLIAM CLOPTON, Knt., A.D. 1419.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Rather more than life-size, 6 ft. 8 in. long.
5. The knight is represented in the armour of the first years of the fifteenth century. A hauberk, pointed in front, reaches to the middle of the thighs, reinforced by a steel breastplate, and both covered by a slightly shorter jupon with an escalloped edge and charged with the Clopton arms: "(Argent) two bars (gules) fretty (or);" at the waist an annulet. On the head is a rounded bascinet with a camail of chain attached by a narrow cord passed through small staples. The shoulders are further protected by epaulières of three plates, the arms by brassarts and vambraces with tight-fitting coudes, and the hands by cuffed gauntlets. Cuisses and jambes with small genouillères meet pointed solerets with straps buckled across the instep to carry the rowel spurs. A cross-hilt sword is supported upright on the left side by a narrow belt passed diagonally across the jupon, and further steadied by two small straps twisted round it. Over the hips is a handsome baudric of large, square medallions fastened by a massive buckle in front, the end passed garterwise and hanging down straight. Attached to it on the right side is a misericorde with cross hilt. The hands are in the attitude of prayer.

The meaning of the annulet on the jupon is unknown; it can hardly be the cadency mark of a fifth son, because Sir William Clopton appears to have been the only son of his father.

6. The head rests on two pillows—the under one oblong, the upper square and set diagonally.
7. The feet rest on a dog lying down with outstretched paws.
8. A low table-tomb of freestone, over which the bevelled edge of the slab with the effigy projects two inches all round.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be SIR WILLIAM CLOPTON, Knt., died September 7th, 1419.[1]

10. The mail was represented in gesso, and traces of it remain on the camail and hauberk.

11. The features are defaced; half of the sword, misericorde and feet are broken away; the hands and baudric are very worn, and the dog is headless. The lower edge of the slab has been cut away.

12. Placed under the middle arcade of the south aisle.

This is probably not its original position.

13. Illustrated and described in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii, plate xi, p. 166.

14. The effigy is well preserved and cared for.

15. Sir William Clopton, Knt., was the only son of John Clopton, of Clopton and Radbrook, co. Gloucester, and Mary, the daughter and heiress of Sir Roger Charlton, Knt. The family had lived there since 1271, and acquired an interest in a number of manors, to which Sir William's wife brought large additions. She was Joanna, second daughter and co-heiress of Alexander Besford, *alias* Pearsford, of Besford, co. Worcester, by whom he had a son and daughter. The son Thomas was aged 16 at his father's death, and died probably unmarried, because his sister Joanna, the wife of Sir John de Burgh, became her father's heir. Sir William died in 1419, and his widow lived on for a further eleven years in a religious house, and was buried near him at Quinton under a still existing brass.[2]

SAINTBURY CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Nicholas.

REV. WILLIAM WARBARTON, B.D., A.D. 1649.

1. Ecclesiastical.
2. Painting of half-figure.
3. Stone.

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii, p. 172.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xiii, pp. 163, 166.

4. Under life-size.

5. The figure, turned slightly to the right, is represented in the simple dress of a clergyman. Over a doublet, with tight sleeves, narrow muslin cuffs, and falling collar, he wears the clerical gown with false sleeves and a skull cap. He is shown as an old man with a pointed beard and moustache holding a clasped book in the left hand.

8. A mural slab, 3 ft. by 2 ft., set in a moulded frame of stone. On it is painted the figure and its setting. It is a medallion framed in scrollwork, with a cherub's head above, placed within an archway supported by four Corinthian pillars. Beneath are painted the arms :—

" Azure a chevron argent between three choughs proper "
? WARBARTON.

This is a doubtful coat, and it is not pure heraldry ; the nearest to it is Warburton, of Salop, " Argent a chevron sable between three Cornish choughs proper."

Crest : A Saracen's head affrontée couped at shoulders proper temple wreathed argent and gules issuing therefrom three ostrich feathers.

9. The inscription beneath the figure is nearly obliterated, and only the following can be deciphered :—

" Wilhelmus Warbarton Sacræ Theologiæ
Baccalaureus Teneris Unguiculis Scholaris
Collegii Etonensis Juxta Windesoram
Inde Cooptatus in Album Sociorum
Coll: Regalis Cantab . . .
[Four lines illegible, and Rudder (p. 636) ends with]
Expedita fuit ista Delineatio
Anno Xni MDCXLVII [1]
Annoque Aetatis LXIX."

REV. WILLIAM WARBARTON, B.D., buried November 8th, 1649, aged about 71. [2]

10. The features are painted flesh colour, the gown and

[1] Rudder gives 1644, but must have copied it wrongly.
[2] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 636.

cap black, and the collar white. The background is red with white, gold and black details.

11. The paint is peeling off, so that the whole is becoming indistinct.

12. Placed on the east wall of the chancel on the south side. It was there in Rudder's time, who states it was brought from the parsonage house.

13. No illustration is known It is mentioned in Sir Thomas Phillipps's *Excerpta ex Registris Parochialibus in Com. Gloucester*, 1854, p. 54, and part of the inscription is given in Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 636.

14. The painting is in fairly good preservation.

15. Rev. William Warbarton was born in London about Christmas time in 1578 or 1579, and after being at Eton College from his childhood he was admitted as scholar at King's College, Cambridge, on August 24th, 1596, being then either 17 or 18 years of age. Exactly three years later he was admitted a Fellow of the same college, and took his degrees of B.A. in 1600 and M.A. in 1603–4, occupying the position of lecturer for the year 1603. He regularly signed his name in the college books as Warbarton. He ceased to be a Fellow between the early months of 1604 and Michaelmas, 1605, probably on account of his appointment as Vicar of Long Compton, co. Warwick, in 1605, on the presentation of Eton College. In the same year, on August 30th, he incorporated at Oxford, and proceeded Bachelor of Divinity on July 9th, 1612, from Merton College. It was in 1617 that he became Rector of Saintbury (spelt St. Burie), where he remained till his death in 1649.[1]

TODDINGTON CHURCH—Dedicated to St. Leonard.

THOMAS-CHARLES, 5TH VISCOUNT TRACY, A.D. 1756.

1. Civilian.

2. Bust in relief on a medallion.

[1] Kindly extracted from the Records of King's College, Cambridge, by Mr. F. L. Clarke.

3. White marble, the slab of grey marble.

4. Life-size.

5. The bust is shown in profile with curly hair, dressed in a coat with turned-down collar, a muslin cravat and drapery arranged round the shoulders.

8. A mural slab with pointed top, in the centre of which the medallion is shown suspended by a hook beneath a winged cherub's head. Below are an inscribed tablet and a small shield with the arms. Quarterly—

(1 and 4) "Or an escallop in chief point sable between two bendlets gules," TRACY.

(2 and 3) "Argent on a chevron sable between three pellets (as many roses of the first)," BALDINGTON.

9. Inscription :—

"The body of this church was rebuilt in the year of Our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and twenty-three by the Right Honorable Thomas-Charles Lord Viscount Tracy Who died on the 4th of June 1756 in the sixty-sixth year of his Age."

THOMAS-CHARLES, 5th Viscount Tracy, died June 4th, 1756, aged 66.

10. The heraldry only is painted.

11. There are no mutilations.

12. Placed on the east wall of the north chancel chapel.

It was transferred from the old church to the present one, which was rebuilt in 1877.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The slab is in excellent condition.

15. Thomas-Charles Tracy, 5th Viscount, was the only son of William Tracy, 4th Viscount, by his second wife, Jane, daughter of the Hon. Sir Thomas Leigh. He was twice married, first to Elizabeth, daughter of William Keyt, of Ebrington, and secondly to Frances, daughter of Sir John Pakington, Bart., of Westwood, co. Worcester, and by them had a numerous family.[1]

[1] Burke, *Extinct Peerage*, p. 537.

WESTON-SUB-EDGE CHURCH—Dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Formerly to St. Laurence.

TWO CIVILIANS, about A.D. 1450.

Placed upright, lying against the east wall of the chancel, are two diminutive stone figures, 2 ft. high, each beneath its own canopy, with shafting and single circular arch decorated with crockets. The feet rest against long-eared hounds lying down, from which it can be seen that the figures were originally recumbent. They are much mutilated, the arms being broken off and the features defaced, but enough remains to show they are both represented with bushy hair, in the gown of a civilian, without a girdle, but reaching to above the ankles, cut open at the bottom and turned back showing the tight hose and pointed shoes. Nothing is known of their history, but they are supposed to have been put in their present position at the restoration of the church in 1861.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

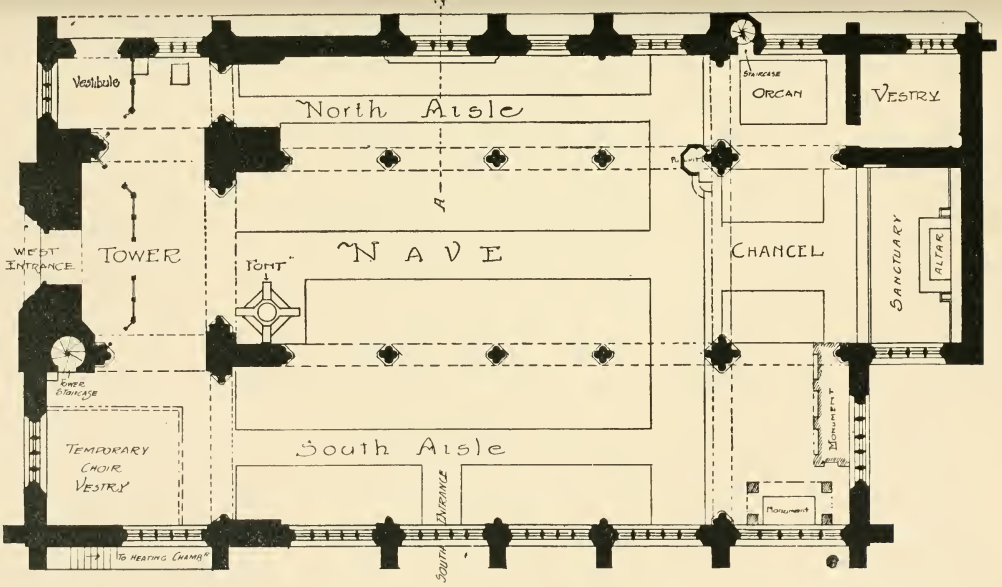
By CHARLES E. BOUCHER, B.Sc.

Materials relating to St. Peter's Church are scanty. It does not possess ancient deeds like All Saints', St. Thomas', or St. John's, and there are no old churchwardens' accounts. The earliest book in the possession of the vestry only goes back as far as 1654, and for several years in the eighteenth century the accounts are missing. Mr. Thomas Short, in a manuscript book, refers to this condition of things as follows: "The tradition is that the missing books were entrusted to the care of an accountant in Broadmead, and were deposited in a box in a cellar when all that part of the city was inundated by the overflowing of the river Frome. The consequence was that after being immersed for a long time they were found to be utterly destroyed." Mr. Short ascribed this to 1768, when Peter Norton was churchwarden, as the accounts begin again then. There are, however, a number of deeds relating to the church in existence, chiefly in the possession of Mr. Francis Fox, and in that of the city.

The Church of St. Peter, commonly reputed to be the oldest church in Bristol, was probably originally the parish church of the Royal Manor of Barton. Barrett, who calls it the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, states that it was founded before the Conquest, and there seems nothing improbable in the assertion, as according to a charter of Simon, Bishop of Worcester, St. Peter's Church was reputed the earliest and most important of the Bristol churches.

It is also mentioned in a charter of Henry I,[1] given at Winchester in 1106, in which he confirms to the Abbey of Tewkesbury "ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Brigstou et decimas

1 Dugdale, vol. ii, p. 66.



Page 260.

J. Bevan, Arch.

GROUND PLAN OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

reddituum de Brigstou," and Dugdale also quotes another charter[1] of Simon, Bishop of Worcester, in which he confirms to the Abbey of Tewkesbury "ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Bristol cum pertinentiis suis infra castrum et extra dominicum Burgum."

There are also other later charters in which the church is mentioned in a similar way.

Dugdale[2] quotes a charter of Henry, Bishop of Worcester, in which he accepts Richard Chamberlain on the presentation of the monks of Tewkesbury to that moiety of the Church of St. Peter which Stephen de Ripun held before him, subject to an annual pension of three shillings to the Church of St. James, Bristol, and in the Rev. C. S. Taylor's valuable paper on the "Religious Houses of Bristol" he refers to the connection of St. Peter's Church with the Priory of St. James. Stephen de Ripun is the earliest rector whose name is mentioned. The two moieties of the living were consolidated in 1242, and presented to Simon of Radnor, Richard Chamberlain being given the rectory of St. John's, December 6th, 1242.[3] Dugdale quotes a charter by which this Richard Chamberlain was presented to the Church of St. Michael.[4]

The Manor of Barton was of considerable extent, and it bears out the contention that St. Peter's was the original parish church of the manor when we remember its early connection with Mangotsfield.

In the *Annales de Theokesberiæ*[5] there is this entry, December 5th, 1231: "Nos concessimus liberam cantariam in vigilia Sancti Nicholai W. de Putot tunc vicecomiti Gloucestriæ in capella curiæ suæ de Manegodesfeld salva indemnitate matricis ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Bristollis et capellæ villæ de Manegodesfeld prout in Scriptis inter nos et ipsum confectis continetur et etiam monachos de Kingeswode.'"

The text of the grant is given in full in Dugdale[6]: "P Abbas Theok. et ejusdem loci conventus Magister Stephanus de

[1] Dugdale, vol. ii, p. 70. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[3] *Annals of Tewkesbury*, p. 122. [4] Dugdale, *Cart. Variæ*, No. lxxvi.
[5] Page 81. [6] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, No. lxxx, p. 79.

Torneburia et David tunc Decanus Bristoll rectores ecclesiæ beati Petri juxta castrum Bristoll et capellæ villæ de Mangodesfeld," etc.

It is not necessary to quote this document at further length, as it merely details the conditions under which William de Putot was to found the chantry chapel in his house, and safeguards the interests of the mother church. This grant is also of interest as it speaks of two rectors of St. Peter's, the living being held in moieties, as was the case when Richard Chamberlain was appointed (between 1193 and 1196).

St. Peter's must therefore be looked on as the mother church of Mangotsfield.

A certain amount of friction resulted about this chapel between Tewkesbury Abbey and St. Peter's Church, which resulted in a lawsuit between the Abbey and the Rector of St. Peter's, John de Brampton. Letters passed between Edward, Prince of Wales (the Black Prince), and Esmon Blount, asking permission for certain muniments in his possession to be seen and examined for the purpose of this lawsuit between John de Brampton, Parson of St. Peter's, Bristol, and the Abbey of Tewkesbury, concerning the chapel. [1]

This John de Brampton is mentioned as being rector in 1353, [2] the previous rector, John Chamberleyn, of Wolferton, having exchanged his living of St. Peter's for that of Stogursey in 1352. [3]

This rector (John de Brampton) was involved in a good many financial transactions with other clergy. The first mention of these is on November 24th, 1353, soon after he had been made rector, when he acknowledged that he owed William de Hawkesworth, Clerk, and Ralph de Houton, Parson of Morston Church, 20s. [4]

[1] *Berkeley Castle*, Select Charters, No. 485.
[2] Close Rolls, Edward III, Nov. 24th, 1353.
[3] *Som. Record Soc. Register*, Ralph of Shrewsbury, p. 695.
[4] Close Rolls, Edward III.

On June 9th, 1354, there is another acknowledgment that he owed these same creditors 40s. In both cases, in default of payment, his property in Somerset was to be levied on. On January 15th, 1354, he, in company with Roger de Barnburgh, Parson of Smalberg Church, acknowledged themselves severally owing to the two same creditors £4, to be levied in default of payment on their goods in the counties of Gloucester and Norfolk.[1]

On February 26th, 1355, he, with John de Ditton, Parson of Repton Abbas, in the diocese of Lincoln, acknowledged they severally owed Richard de Thoresby, Clerk, £6, to be levied on their property in the county of Lincoln.[2]

Again, on March 16th, 1356, there is another acknowledgment of 40s., due to William de Hawkesworth,[3] while on September 20th, 1359, William Kermerdyn, Chaplain, and John Hammond, "webbe" of Bristol, acknowledged that they owed to John de Brampton £20.[4]

At this period St. Peter's seems to have been very much associated with the church at Stogursey. On account of the French War, the Priory and the living of Stogursey were in the king's gift, and on May 6th, 1351, the Crown presented it to John Cotes, Parson, of Hywyssh Chaunflour, on an exchange of benefices with Philip Mareys.[5] On June 24th, 1352, John Chaumberlyn, of Wolverton, Parson of St. Peter's, Bristol, was presented to the Vicarage of Stoke Courcy (Stogursey) on an exchange of benefices with Philip Mareys.[6]

On August 3rd, 1353, John de Brampton was presented to the Vicarage of Stokecourcy in the king's gift, and on August 11th, 1353, Philip Mareys was presented to the same church.

In the register[7] of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, it states that the bishop admitted John Chamberleyn to the Vicarage of Stoke Cursi by reason of exchange with the

[1] Close Rolls, Edward III. [2] *Ibid.*, [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*
[5] Patent Rolls, Edward III, 1351.
[6] Patent Rolls, June 24th, 1352, Westminster (Cal., p. 302).
[7] *Som. Record Soc. Register*, Ralph of Shrewsbury, p. 695.

Church of St. Peter, Bristol, vacant by the resignation of Philip Mareys, and the bishop instituted Philip Mareys to Stoke Curcy vi Kal., Sept., 1353.

These presentations and exchanges are puzzling, but it will be remembered that the Black Death began in Somerset early in 1349, and was the cause of great mortality among the clergy. I do not know whether it is the same man, but a certain John de Brampton, Chaplain, with William de Sutton, Parson of Whitewell Church, and Thomas de Whitewell, Chaplain, obtained a licence from the king on October 18th, 1350, to cross to "parts beyond the seas as pilgrims."

At quite an early period a school seems to have been associated with the church, as in 1243 a grant of a large stone house, called the school, near St. Peter's Church, of Yseuda Hose, was confirmed by her brother John to Simon le clerc (Simon of Radnor then rector),[1] and this school-house is alluded to many years after[2] in a deed of November 2nd, 1513.

Of this early Church of St. Peter little beyond the base of the tower remains, but a late Norman capital was found at a recent restoration. The castle was situated near the church, and the fact is frequently emphasised in contemporary documents. One of the earliest benefactions is in a deed of about the date 1295, in which Alice, the relict of John of Kyngeswode, carpenter, who was owner of a piece of ground lying between the ditch of the barbican of the castle on the one side and the churchyard on the other, left a legacy of twelvepence to the High Altar of the church.[3] Some further light is thrown upon the internal arrangements of the building by a gift of twelve silver pence arising out of a tenement near the Blyndgate made by Geoffrey le Cook, Dubbere, on March 2nd, 1336, for the sustentation of the light of the High Cross on the north side of the church[4] (not for the Chapel of St. Catherine, as stated by Taylor), and a few years later (1340–6) Walter Freman, Rector of St. Philip's, gave for the

[1] Braikenridge Deeds, No. 4, Bristol Corporation.
[2] Fox Deeds, No. xxxv. [3] Tyson copies, p 229. [4] Fox MSS. No. vii.,

benefit of the souls of his ancestors and descendants six silver pence, arising out of a house and piece of land near the church, for the support of the light of the blessed Catherine on the north side. [1]

One of the Tyson MSS. gives the name of a rector, Robert de Leache, and as Richard de Mangodesfeld is mentioned as Mayor, the date must be between 1279 and 1289. This Robert de Leche seems to have had trouble because, as was not infrequent at that time, he had not procured for himself priest's orders. A mandate was issued on November 4th, 1286, by Bishop Godfrey Giffard, of Worcester, to the Dean of Bristol to cite him, and as a result he, under protest, appears to have resigned St. Peter's and his other tenancy of Shenyndon (Shenington Church being in the gift of Tewkesbury Abbey), Thomas de Bosco, the bishop's proctor at the court of Canterbury, being instituted in his place. In 1290 Gregory of Wauberg was presented to the living.

A somewhat similar case to that of Robert de Leche was that of Richard Gunvile, who though rector of the church, was not ordained deacon until 1338.

In 1275 one of the chaplains of the church, a certain S., was insulted. From a mandate issued to the Deans of Westbury and Bristol, it appears that while administering the Holy Eucharist to a certain sick person in the Jewish quarter of Bristol, certain Jews committed "iniquitous insults, blasphemies and injuries to the most holy body of our Saviour," the result being the excommunication of these "wicked Jews," and the forbidding of all traffic with them. [2]

Towards the close of the fourteenth century trouble appears to have arisen between the rector and the parish over the rectory house, and from a deed[3] of October 6th, 1387, we learn that the matter was finally settled in a thoroughly mediæval

[1] Fox MSS., No. ix.

[2] *Worcester Registers, Ides of April*, 1275; *Bishop Godfrey Gifford*. Worc. Hist. Soc.

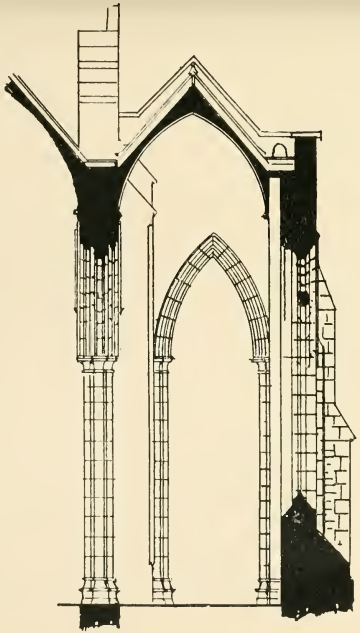
[3] Tyson Copies of Deeds, p. 232, and p. 231.

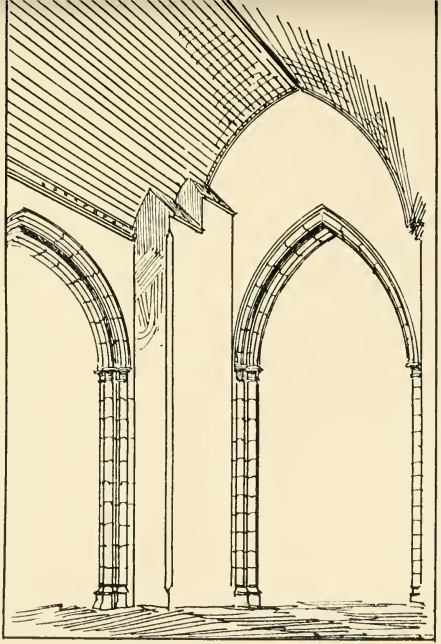
way at a meeting of the parishioners held in the church. The rector, who is styled in the deed as " that discreet man " Sir Thomas Veysey, speaking before the altar dedicated to St. Mary, acknowledged that he had been and was then and there a tenant of the proctors of the church for the house in which he dwelt in the eastern side of the churchyard, and that he would pay annually fourpence rent during his life, and that after his death it should belong absolutely to the church-wardens for the time being, they on their part to cause his death to be celebrated annually on the morrow of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul ; and that there might be no mistake, the notary who drew it up, a certain Richard Marleburgh, the deed goes on to say, affirms that he was personally present, that he saw and heard the things stated which were voluntarily transacted, and wrote them down in faith and testimony. One of the witnesses to this agreement was William Frost. This William Frost died in 1391, and his will is of considerable interest because he mentions in it the Holy Cross in the church before which he wished to be buried, and he calls the church the Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul of Bristol.

Towards the closing years of the fourteenth century there seems to be reasonable grounds for believing that the old Norman church was taken down, and replaced by the Perpendicular church that we now have. Between the years 1383 and 1413 there are a number of bequests for the fabric and work of the church, mentioned in *The Great Book of Wills :* Walter Derby in 1385, John Muleward in 1388, Simon Halewey in 1389, John Hunt in 1388, John Muleward in 1398, Reginald Taillour in 1397, William Poyntz in 1395, Edward Tanner in 1404, John Haleway in 1404, and Richard Vener in 1413. After this the stream of bequests dries up, and it is not until 1491 that it begins again. The period 1380 to 1415 corresponds to the architecture of the church, and the view that extensive building was done at this time is supported by a deed. [1]

This is a covenant dated November 30th, 1408, between

[1] Fox MSS., No. 13 extra documents.





Page 266.

J. Bevan, Arch.

WEATHERED BUTTRESSES INSIDE ENTRANCE TO NORTH AISLE.

Thomas Lye, rector of the church, and Thomas Peeke and William Somerton, proctors, with the assent of Thomas Norton, Simon Olyver, John Olyver, Bernard Bruer, Richard Venour, John Bagpathe and John Heye, parishioners, on a "dispute concerning a certain house where now is a vestibule and an altar of the Holy Cross, with other buildings, in which house, before it was thrown down by the parishioners, the rector was accustomed to live." The deed goes on to say that the rector, Thos. Lye, grants to the proctors and parishioners the vestibule and buildings erected on the north side of the church, on the condition that they grant him and his successors a piece of land in the precincts of the churchyard on the north-west side, whereon rector and people were to construct a good house with out-buildings and easements, at their joint expense.

This Thomas Lye seems to have been an important man. Barrett dates him at 1409, but he is mentioned as rector in John Bannebury's will of February 7th, 1404, and he appears to have continued his position until after 1419, as his name is given in Simon Olyvers will, which was proved on May 10th, 1419. It was during his rectorate that there were associated with the parish a number of wealthy and influential burgesses. Thomas Norton had purchased and was inhabiting the great house now St. Peter's Hospital; Simon Olyver, who had been mayor and was recorder, and is buried with his wife Agnes in the church, lived in a large house in St. Peter Street; John Olyver, his brother, was connected with the parish, as were other wealthy burgesses, such as Barnard Bruer, Richard Verron, and John Bagpathe, a tanner, who lived in a large house on the Broad Weir.

There is also another interesting fact in connection with the date of the church. In a manuscript volume belonging to Lady Smyth, dated 1669, ascribed by Mr. Lewis Way to Savage, is the following note: "In the window over Mr. Aldworth's Monument, was ye armes of England and France qred and therewith impaled Gules a cross patonné

between 5 martlets or." Probably by a slip of the pen Savage miswrote gules for azure, as the arms are those of England impaled with Edward the Confessor, which were frequently borne by Richard II. We know from Seyer that it is possible he was in Bristol in 1394, and he certainly visited the city in 1399. It is by no means unlikely that this coat of arms marks some important work in his day.

Let us now turn to the church as we have it. It is a large, somewhat plain building, spacious, and, like other buildings of the period, well lighted. My own view is that the present nave occupies the site of the old Norman church. This was demolished, and the new Perpendicular church built in its place. The tower, which in its lower stage is part of the earlier building, was originally on its west, north and south sides external to the church. When the side aisles were added there is evidence to show that they were built against the tower, which was then already standing. This is evident by the coigns at the corners of the west side of the tower, and by the fact that in the inside, on the south side, there is a low batter similar to that which extends round the base on the west side on the exterior. Further, in the north aisle, on the north side of the north-east pier of the tower, there is a large solid buttress which, owing to its great height and the darkness of the corner, can easily be overlooked. I am indebted to Miss Perry for the suggestion that it might be an external buttress, which on examination it turned out to be, the set-off being weathered. The masonry of the tower is rough in character, and it appears to be faced with large stones, with a rubble filling. It is oblong in shape, being 28 ft. 9 in. long on the west and east sides, and 24 ft. 8 in. on the south and north sides. Its height from the lower battlements to the ground is 77 ft. It is in two stages, and is surmounted by freestone battlements, with pinnacles at the angles.

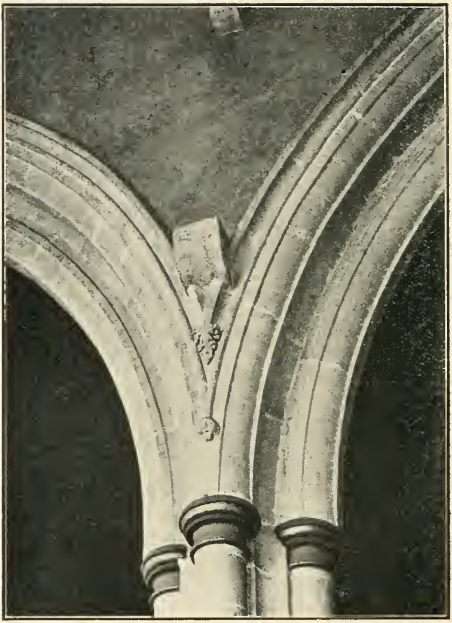
From the vestry books it appears that these battlements were added in 1657, when the tower was raised to take them, and this part of the work is still apparent, as it was executed in

W. Moline.

CORBEL ABOVE THE NICHE
ON NORTH-EAST PIER OF TOWER.

W. Moline.

SECOND CORBEL.
NORTH SIDE OF NAVE.



Page 269. *W. Moline.*

INTERSECTION OF ARCHES.

CAPITALS SOUTH OF AISLE.

freestone. At the same time the level of the floors was disturbed, fresh ones being added; one, if not more, of the original windows was walled up, a new one made, and others repaired.

At the west end there is a fine, deeply-recessed Perpendicular door, over which is a small restored tabernacle, now empty. The original door still remains. The base of the tower and the western ends of the north and south aisles are separated from the body of the church by arches, and, as will be shown by the plan, they form a kind of vestibule or narthex, similar to that met with in some Italian churches. This similarity may be accidental, but it is very marked, and would be much more so if the nave and aisles were separated from it by screen work, as was formerly the case. The Rev. C. S. Taylor tells me that a narthex also existed at the west end of the ancient Perpendicular church of St. Thomas the Martyr. The arches supporting the north and south sides of the tower have a three-shafted respond on the west side, but only a single shaft, terminating in a corbel, on the east side, that on the north side being the figure of a king, and on the left of a queen.

The length of the nave from the west door to the chancel steps is 80 feet, the chancel is 30 feet long, the whole width of the church is 55 feet. Strangely enough these measurements are in no way comparable with those given by William Wycestre. According to him "ecclesia Sancti Petri continet in longitudine preter chorum 54 gressus, latitudo ejus continet 30 passus." Taking the gressus at 20 inches, this gives 90 feet for the length of the nave and 50 feet for the width. The latter is approximately correct. There is a tradition in the parish that the chancel was once considerably longer.

The nave is separated from the side aisles by graceful columns with plain, circular capitals and filleted arches. On removing the whitewash in one of the last century restorations these capitals were found to be decorated in blue, red and gold. At the point of intersection of the arches there is beautiful leaf-work, underneath being a quaint grotesque face. On the

north side of the south aisle, at the intersection of the arches, there is also a row of stone corbels which carried the principal members of the original roof of that aisle. All the present roofs are of late date. That of the middle aisle is carried upon carved stone corbels, among them being kings, queens, bishops, noblemen and a priest.

The corbels of the south aisle are plain on one side, and on the south side poor. One of them is Early English, but the others are poor and of plaster. Unfortunately the levels of the church have been altered during the numerous restorations. Whereas up to the middle of the last century the chancel was separated from the nave by a flight of three steps, there is now only a difference of one, due to the floor of the main part of the building having been raised. On the south side of the choir there is an arched recess, discovered some years ago. The lower stone had disappeared. It is probably either a piscina or an aumbry.

The east end is blocked by a beautifully carved classical reredos, erected by the vestry.

The following is the vestry minutes, March 26th, 1697 :—

" At a vestry held in ye parish church of St. Peters it was agreed and ordered yt an altar peice should be erected agreeably to a model or draught then produced, and yt ye churchwardens should enter into articles for ye finishing of ye same accordingly. Hugh Waterman, Rector, George Arthur, James Haynes, churchwardens" £80 was paid a Mr. John Mitchell, of London, towards the cost. The altar-piece was finished by September 18th, on which day there is the following entry :—

Paid Mr. Mitchell Being soe much Due to Him from Mr. George Arthur contract on ye Alter peace .. .. £60.00.00.

As illustrating the customs of the times when business was being transacted, there are the following payments :—

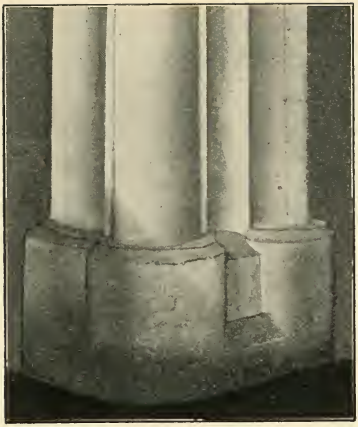
Ffeb. 5th. To money paid att 5 seaverall times about ye alter .. .. 00.11.06.
[Doubtless on drink.]
Aug. 31st. Att ye Maremaid when made ye agreement with Mr. Mitchell for ye upper pewing .. .. 00.03.06.
Sept. 4th. Paid Mr. Mitchell men.to drinke ..
10th. Paid at Mr. Blowing's with Mitchell .. 00.02.00.
18th. Paid Mr. Mitchell men to drink .. 00.01.00.
Oct. 9th. Do. .. 00.00.06.
Nov. 3rd. At ye Bull treating Mitchell .. .. 00.02.02.
and many others.

When it was erected the rails formed a square enclosure, such as is still the case at St. Mary-le-port. At the last restoration the outline of the east window was discovered without its tracery, and the upper portion is to be seen behind the reredos. At the same time the ancient doorway from the vestry to the sanctuary was found, the sides of the chancel having been covered with oak panelling. The ceiling of the chancel is of ornamental plaster work, not unlike that in the canopy of the Aldworth tomb, and is I think of that date.

The south aisle is large and well proportioned. At the east end there is a chapel now encumbered by the large Aldworth and Newton tombs. Hidden away in the plaster of the east wall are the remains of demolished tabernacles, and behind the Newton tomb there is a fine piscina with a square drain. The north aisle presents great difficulties, inasmuch as, while it is the same length as the south, it is but little more than half its breadth, and it differs from it in the treatment of the windows. Those on the south are large and well designed, and form an arcade similar to those in the other Bristol churches. Those on the north, however, are debased and poor. They are not all the same, however, and I believe that the one behind the organ, the four-light square-headed one in the vestry and the small two-light one above it are original or faithful reproductions. With these exceptions none of

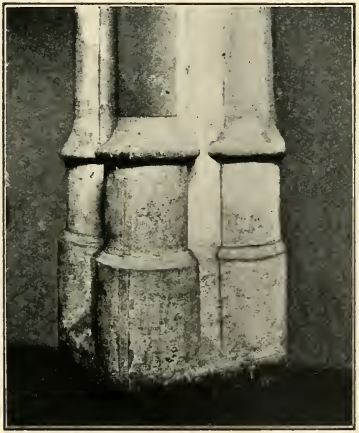
the north windows are original, and I do not think that there were ever any on this side. The suggestion made by Price, and frequently repeated, that the aisle was rebuilt probably in 1749, being narrowed for street improvements, is attractive but incorrect, as a very cursory examination will prove. Over the north door on the inside there is an undeniably ancient stone sailing course, and the bases of the shafts to the arches of the panels are old work, and are identical with the other old bases in the church. They are easily distinguished from the bases of the columns rebuilt in 1795. Behind the organ also is a Perpendicular altar-tomb. And lastly, adjacent to this, there is a turret with a stairway inside which has been walled up since the end of the seventeenth century. The date of the walling up was shown by some ancient tobacco pipes found on this staircase when it was opened a few years ago.. It is not conceivable that in rebuilding a wall for street improvements that any of these features, particularly the last, which appears to have led to the rood screen, would have been rebuilt for no reason at all and then walled up. There is no reason to assume that the north aisle has ever been wider than at present, for the width of the south aisle is no doubt due to the need of further accommodation and the space afforded by the churchyard for building. The south aisle of the ancient church of St. Thomas the Martyr was also very narrow.[1] This north aisle seems to have been associated with the guilds of the church, and even now presents a different appearance to the rest of the church. According to Parker, the word vestibulum in mediæval Latin means vestry, and there is no reason to believe that the vestibule spoken of in the 1408 deed is other than the one situated at the east end of the aisle. A glance at the plan shows distinct signs of some building having been at its west end, of which there are still traces. High up on the wall plate on the north side of the tower within the church are the remains of a stone course that carried the roof opposite to the low stone sailing course on the

[1] *Transactions*, xxvii, 343.



W. Moline.

NORTH AISLE BASE OF PILLAR,
REBUILT IN 1795.



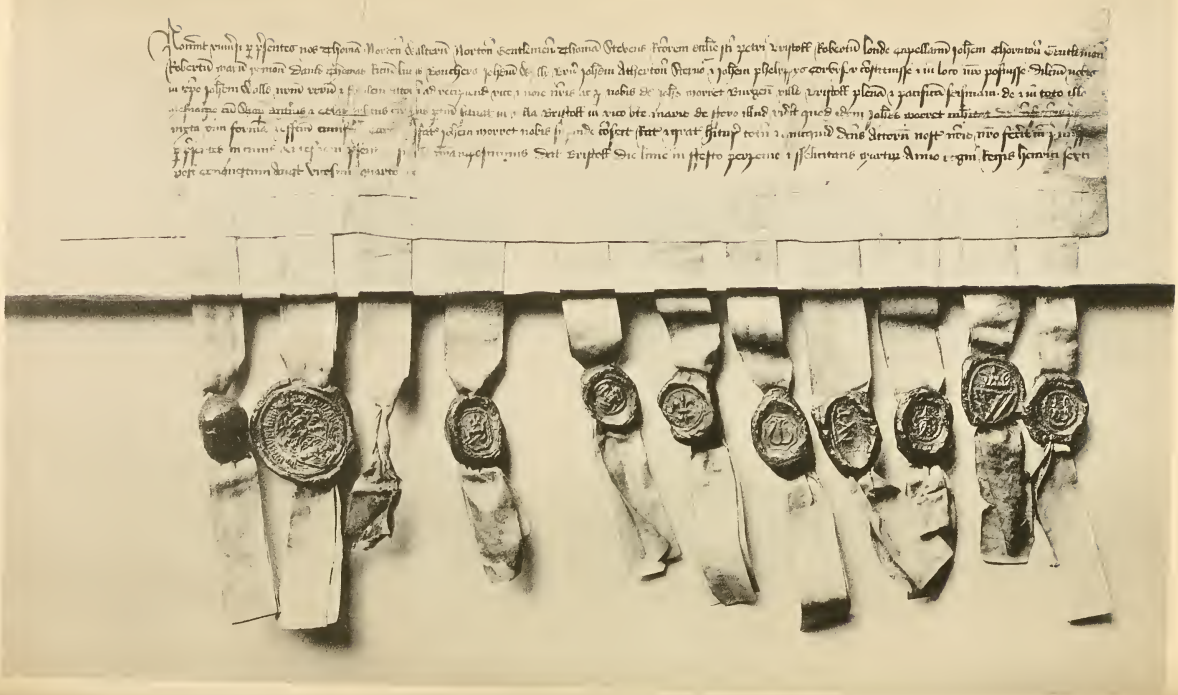
Page 272. *W. Moline.*

NORTH AISLE ORIGINAL BASE.

FIRST CORBEL. NORTH SIDE OF NAVE.

Page 273.

THIRD CORBEL. FOURTH CORBEL.
NORTH SIDE OF NAVE.



DEED SHEWING THE SEAL OF ROBERT LOND.

other wall, showing that possibly the building had a lean-to roof. Also just behind the western arch of the north aisle on its eastern side there is an old stone corbel which at some time must have supported some structure.

The earliest account books give payments for rent of houses abutting on the church. Thus in 1657 Mr. Merrick paid a year's rent for his house at the church end, William Alderson 13s. 4d. for one adjoining the church, which a later entry says was over the church porch, and both these were fairly substantial dwellings, as the little house at the chancel end only produced 2s. a year rent. There were other small shops and sheds at the north side of the church at varying rentals.

At the east end of the north aisle is a room used as a vestry, and hidden away behind the organ is an ancient Perpendicular doorway which gave access to it. In addition there was a door which led to the sanctuary, but it has long been closed up. Over the vestry was an ancient room called the "Treasury," which has unfortunately been destroyed to make the vestry ceiling higher, and above it there still remains a third room, which is, however, no longer accessible. Entrance to the Treasury was effected by a staircase, and the outlines of the door are still to be seen on the plaster. On examining the exterior, it will be seen that the roof of the north aisle was once considerably lower. The old row of coping stones can still be distinguished in the wall, above them being a course of stones and then an irregular course of brick, the whole surmounted by a classical coping.

The present church is mentioned in the will of William Poyntz, 1395, who wished to be buried in the chapel of the Blessed Mary before the image of St. George. Barrett, followed by others, asserted that the chapel at the east end of the south aisle is the one dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Mary of Belhouse. There is reason, however, to believe that this was not the situation of the chapel, though

it is more than possible that it was the site of the older Lady Chapel in which Poyntz wished to be buried, and this is supported by the fact that in 1550 there were two altars to the Blessed Virgin in the church.[1]

In the fifteenth century the church was in the height of its prosperity, much of which was due to the interest taken in it for more than one hundred years by the pious and generous family of the Nortons, who lived in the mansion now known as St. Peter's Hospital; and although we have not to do with the history of the Norton mansion, it is of interest[2] to note that on June 9th, 1435, Walter Norton, who had been left the western portion of the house by his father, Thomas Norton, approached the vestry for permission to lease a portion of the churchyard, as he had not sufficient of his own land to make an entrance to his house without trespassing on the property of his brother, who owned the other moiety. The parishioners in consequence handed over to him an almost triangular piece of land, 22 feet royal $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 10 feet royal $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 4 feet royal $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, for the annual rent of 14 silver pence. The deed mentions one point of interest in that there was a lane called "St. Edewellane" (Edith's Well Lane) which was on the west of the western portion of the mansion.

On the inner side of the north-east pier of the tower there is a brass to Master Robert Lond, chaplain, who died February 22nd, 1461. This brass has already been described in our *Transactions*, but since the paper was published further information has come to light. Though Barrett puts him down as rector in 1446, there is little doubt but that this is not the case, as in that year in a deed[3] he is styled chaplain, and Thomas Stevenys rector. To this deed, among the other seals, is appended his. It consists of a monogram "R," possibly "R.L.," combined with a fleur-de-lys. In the calendar of the Patent Rolls, May 26th, 1430, there is the following entry:— "License by advice of the council and for 20s. paid into the Hanaper for Robert Londe of Bristol to dwell in England for

[1] Fox MSS., lxxxij. [2] Tyson copies, p. 234. [3] Fox MSS., xxiv.

the rest of his life notwithstanding the proclamation made in the last parliament." There is no doubt, from a careful examination of the deeds in which his name occurs, that he was called "Lond" and not "Loud."

Between the Newton tomb and the west wall is a stone cadaver, which has been carefully described by Miss Roper in the "Effigies of Bristol." Thanks to the Savage MSS. book, this effigy has been identified by the following entry:— "Near to Alderman Aldworth's monument likewise is a stone borne up by severall small pillasters about 20 inches from the ground on which was sometime an epitath but now worn out wth age, under ye stone lyes the skeleton of a man on his back and on one of the pillastres is cut this coat viz Argent a bend sable charged wth three Escalops of the first between two lyons rampant of the second langued and armed gules, this is the coat of Norton some times living in the Great house behind this Church and since that at Abbots Leigh two miles of where the female heirs about two ages since conveyed the inheritance to another Norton of Shropshire, who bear Or two barres gules on a chief azure an inescutcheon argent and of this family was the worthy Sir George Norton late of Abbots Leigh."

This settles the fact that the monument is that of one of the Nortons, and probably one of the earlier of them; and Barrett mentions that there was in the nave a brass to another of the family, Andrew Norton, who died September 1st, 1527, and his wives, Elizabeth and Helen. This has disappeared.

Beyond a bequest of two shops in Wine Street for the glory of God and benefit of the church, and for keeping his anniversary, made by Thomas Stephens, goldsmith, in 1483, we hear nothing until the close of the fifteenth century, which witnessed the birth of a guild connected with the church, the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary of Belhouse.

The Altar of the Holy Cross has been mentioned in several benefactions, and also in connection with the vestibule, about which difficulties arose in 1408. This altar appears to have

been connected with a Guild or Fraternity of the Holy Cross which existed in this church, and which is mentioned in one of the All Saints' documents, the will of Robert Gerneuyle, to which Dr. Cuthbert Atchley kindly drew my attention.

This is dated 1346, and in it the testator, who was brother of the then rector, Richard Girnville, left to the Fraternity of the Holy Cross of the Church of St. Peter 6s. 8d., that his anniversary might be held annually just as the rest of the brethren. Though this is only the reference to this guild that I have met, it is not unlikely that the old Guild of the Holy Cross was merged into the new Fraternity of St. Mary, possibly on account of the more important fraternity of the Brethren of the Holy Cross of St. Nicholas.

The Fraternity of St. Mary of Belhouse seems to have rapidly become popular. A chapel to the honour of Our Lady of Belhouse was constructed at the close of the seventeenth century, and it seems probable it was situated at the west end of the north aisle. In this position it would be close to the belfry, and there is still remaining the shrine of beautiful late Perpendicular work, much richer in character than anything else in the church.

This tabernacle was discovered accidentally by Mr. Thomas Short when some repairs were being done to the church in 1845, and a full account is given in the *Times and Mirror* of July 23rd of that year. The shrine appears to have been covered with a layer of plaster, upon which was the following black letter inscription, almost obliterated by coats of lime wash :—

age of wod y is mad wyt
ds : ye bothe yt & he y m
Sapiens : xiiii

A quotation from the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Wisdom, "Cursed is the ymage of wod y[t] is made with hãdes yee both it & he y[t] made it."[1]

[1] Coverdale's translation, 1535. (*Wisdom*, xiv, 8.)

The tabernacle when first discovered was decorated in rich red, blue and gold but its present colouring is far removed from the original. When discovered no sign of the statue was to be found, and the inscription points to the probability that the figure was of wood, as was not infrequently the case.

That this was the site of the chapel is supported by the following evidence.

In the will of Maud Esterfeld, dated July 21st, 1491, it states that she desires to be buried "juxta capellam beatæ Mariæ de Belhouse" of St. Peter's, to the use of which chapel she bequeathed her wedding ring. Now in Savage's MSS. there is the following entry: "Taken July 26th, 1669, on a marble stone neare the entrance on the north side of the church is foure pictures in brass, one of a man, and three of a woman, and under them in a plate of brass is written—

"'Sub hoc marmore tumlatum est corpus clarissimi viri Johis Esterfield hujus oppidi mercatoris et ejusdem bis majoris & aldermanni una cum corporibus Alicie Scolastice et Matildis uxorum ejusdem Johis quiquidem Johannis obiit 18° die Mensis Februarii A Dni 1507 Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen.'

"Underneath are ye pictures in brass of four sonnes and eight daughters."

This brass is mentioned by Barrett, though it had then disappeared, as having been by the entrance to the church, which was then situated as now. From this it may fairly be concluded that the site of the chapel was at the western end of the north aisle, and a glance at the plan will show its position was probably a little inside the arch leading to the north aisle.

One of the earliest references to the chapel[1] is in 1498, in a gift made by William Wage, otherwise Spicer, which has been noted by Barrett. It appears that William Spenser, John Powke, William Lumberd, feoffees of the lands of the Fraternity of the Holy Cross in St. Nicholas, gave a lease for eighty-one

[1] Fox MSS., xxxiii.

years to William Spicer of a garden in Merchant Street for an annual rental to the Brethren of the Holy Cross of sixteen pence, and to the Fraternity of St. John of twelve pence. He let this to a certain William Brown for the term with power to construct a house, but the next year [1] he re-entered the property by paying forty shillings, and then, April 3rd, 1501, handed it over to the representatives of the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary of Belhouse, who were to hold the property subject to the charges upon it for the support of the chapel for the remainder of term. The names of these trustees were Andrew Norton, Ambrose Codryngton, John Juttour, Richard Birken, William Davy, John Davy, Thomas Grene, and Matthew Cotynton. [2] Of these trustees, two, John Davys, baker, and Matthew Cotynton, figure in the will of Joan Jons, widow of John Jons, brewer, dated August 13th, 1501, who left to the high altar of the church three shillings and fourpence and a linen cloth, and to the Chapel of the Blessed Mary the same sum.

The next year saw an important legacy by Matthew Cachemay, of St. Briavels, whose will is dated December 20th, 1502, and has been fully transcribed (though the testator's name is wrongly printed) by Mr. John Taylor in *Bristol Past and Present*, but as it is of interest to our present subject, I am venturing to quote the original deed [3] fairly fully. After certain legacies to the church at St. Briavels and relatives, he bequeaths toward the honour of "our blessed Lady the Vergen and unto the sustentacion of a chapplen in the chapell of oure lady of the bellehowse . . . to pray for the sowlis of the brothyrs and sisters of the fraternite of the seyd chappell late begoune in the forseyd chyrche of seynt peter, to Matthew Cottynton and to John Baker, brothyrs of the seyd confraternity, all my landes and tenementes, &c. . . . and sustentacyon of a lawful chapplen the whiche shal contynnually be bounde to pray for the sowles of John Longford, Matthew Cachemay, Matthew Bocke, William Mertoun, William

[1] Fox MSS., extra MSS., No. xxi.
[2] Fox MSS., extra Doc., No. xxii. [3] Fox MSS., lxvi.

Robertes, William Phillippe, and in the fest of Seint Stephyn merter the seyd feoffees and ther successors shal keep a solempne obbite . . . paying therefore to ye person or hys depute vj^{d} to be present at dirige and masse and to iij prestes every of them for derige and masse iiij^{d} to the dekyn of the cherche ij^{d}, to iiij chylders iiij^{d}, for ij tapers on the herse iiij^{d} and in the seyd day to distribute xij^{d} in bredde to ye presoners at Newgate."

Cachemay evidently died shortly afterwards, as his executors, Roger and Thos. Brayn, handed over the property by deed[1] on July 27th, 1503, to Matthew Cottynton and John Baker the trustees mentioned in the will, and members of the Brotherhood of the Virgin. An abstract of the history of this bequest is in a paper belonging to the vestry. It states that the property of Mathewe Cachmay, of St. Briavels, was left to Mathewe Cottington and John Baker, and was late of John Longford, bailiff, to fulfill his will. On Cottynton's death the survivor, John Baker, verbally confirmed it to John Griffith, who made it over to St. Peter's trustees on March 1st, 1521.

As the names are frequently met with in documents referring to the church, their names may be useful: Wm. Father (rector), Andree Norton, Richard Norton, Thomas Norton, George Norton, Ric. Birky, Nich. Wudhouse, Thomas Green, David Jonys, John Ilkyns, Ralph Jarrett, Robert Warley, Thom. Belyngham, Johan Baron, John Jardeyn, Thomas Yatman, Henry Soper and Peter Coper.

Further, John Griffith enfeoffed the trustees with a house in Merchant Street that had belonged to John Sowle, of London, Whittawer, son and heir of John Sowle, of Bristowe, tanner, which house was handed over to him on St. Michael's Eve, 1487, by John Lyndesey, Deane of the Colledge of the Holly Trynitie, of Westbury-upon-Trym.

In 1507 John Esterfeld,[1] the husband of Maud, died, and in his will stated that he wished to be buried in the Holy Oratory of our Blessed Lady of Belhowsse, to which he left his

[1] Fox MSS., lxvii and xcv. [2] Wadley, p. 177.

best masse book, his chalice of silver and gilt, and his cruettes silver.

In Mr. Fox's[1] collection there is a transcript endorsed "Esterfeld's Will," evidently an ancient copy of a will of another member of the family, probably made for the vestry. In this document he directs "the maister and his successors to cause a dirige to be sung annually by note in this chapel either by the parson or his deputy," and he mentions the sums to be paid for such service. Further he goes on to say that they are to "fynd of a lampe to bren continually afore ye ymage of our Lady, and to provide 2 shillings and 2 pence for alms at this dirige and mass, and 4 shillings for the soul of the said John Esterfeld, and for a lampe for ever continually brennyng in ye said chapell of ye forsaid almes house y^t^ is to say from he houre of vj afternoon in the vigill of Alhalowes unto ye hour of 8th. then next insuyng, and so from thensforthe nightly unto Saint Valentyne's day," etc.

From these wills it is evident that the fraternity was one of those numerous religious guilds which were attached to our parish churches throughout the country, and which played so important a part in the social welfare of the people. It has been thought from its name that it had something to do with bells, and that it was something akin to St. Stephen's ringers. Whether this be so is a pure conjecture. It is evident that it was a mixed guild of men and women, and that in addition to the holding of religious services and obits, it directed its attention to the relief of the poor, the maintenance of an almshouse, and probably the education of the parish children, as was so frequently the case with such bodies. There was a school existing in the parish in 1513, as is shown by the endorsement on a deed[2] in which Thomas Norton granted to William Fathyr, the rector, and the parishioners, many of whom were brethren of the fraternity in 1501, certain

[1] Fox MSS., lxviii. [2] *Ibid.*, xxxv.

SEAL OF St. PETER'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.
ABOUT 1525.

properties in Mary-le-port Street—"the Almshouse and y^t^ which was the Scoolehouse."

In addition to the above gifts to the chapel and fraternity there was a chantry, founded by John Williams, which was called "Williams" service. An account of the history of this chantry is among the chantry certificates printed by Sir John Maclean. It appears that the founder gave an annual pension out of his lands and tenements for a priest to sing at the altar of our Ladie of Belhouse, where his obitte was to be annually kept. The yearly value of the lands, etc., of the chantry were £45 8s. od., the number of ounces of plate, 8 oz., 33s. iiijd., and ornaments to the same, valued at 65 shillings. The certificate also states that the "houselynge" people in the parish were 400. The property of the chantry continued to increase, for in 1525 the then feoffees were possessed of a garden in St. Philip's parish, which they let to Petur Cowper and Julyan his wife.[1]

This deed is of unusual interest, as attached to it is the seal of the church, the only impression known.

It bears the inscription, "Sigillum ecclie Paroc Petri Bristollie," and represents St. Peter with the keys bearing a large church.

In 1532 Thomas Janys gave the feoffees a tenement in Narrow Wine Street, and in a deed of 1533[2] Richard Pole Corresour and William Adnethes, brewer, are mentioned as churchwardens of the chapel and as leasing a garden close to Brightbow, in which at the time of sealing the document there were "standyng xliiij elmes, whereof there is xx of them toppyd."

It appears from the chantry certificate already quoted that some difficulty had arisen with regard to the bequest of John Williams, as his heirs, seeing the trend of legislation, raised difficulties over his will, and declined to carry out its provisions. Legal proceedings followed, which resulted in the rector and churchwardens obtaining a judgment in their

[1] Fox MSS., extra doc., xxiij. [2] Fox MSS., xlii.

favour from Lord Awdeley, the Lord Chancellor, on November 24th, 1542. The rector at that time was Sir John Pyll, and it was he and one of the wardens, a certain Peter Cowper, tailor, who went to London on the matter. Their note of expenses[1] is still in existence, and is interesting as a record of travelling in those days.

The following will serve as a sample of the document :—

Goyg to London.

Tewsdaye (the day they set off)

Fyrst our horse hyre	xiijs. iiijd.
Item for horse bred	viijd.
Item for our breckfast	viijd.
Item for our dyner at Cheppnam	viijd.
Item our horrese meate	iiijd.
Item at supper	viijd.
Item the same nyght for horse meat	viijd.

The next day they reached Newbury, but on Thursday a saddle broke, and had to be repaired at a cost of iiijd. They dined at Colbroke and supped at London. Here they spent a clear fortnight, and returned home, arriving either on Sunday night or Monday morning. The legal charges are interesting :—

For the New decre wrytyng and wrytyng of the injuncion and sealyng of the same ..	xviijs vjd.
Item for wrytyng of owr supplicacon	iiijs.
Item to Mr. Gaude for councell and to exhybet our mater to my lorde chanceller	viijs iiijd.

To the document this quaint memorandum is attached :—

"That ther was delyver unto Sir John Pyll & Petre Cowper owt of the coffer of Saynt Petres Church vli xijd. toward the seute of John Whit [he was the holder of the property] in the presens of Thomas Joachim and Nicholas Wodhouse, proctors, and Mr. Adams, Thomas Dole, and

[1] Fox MSS., cv.

John Jurdaye, being then presens the xviij daye of Novembre, 1546."

In addition to the chantry certificate, a very great amount of information regarding this chantry is contained in a volume relating to the city of Bristol at the Augmentation Office.

This gives not only the sites of the various pieces of property, but the rental and the date of the foundation, together with full particulars of the feoffment deed.

Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Book.
Vol. 67, f. 561.

Civitas Bristoll.

Servicium sive Cantaria vocatum Williams Service infra Ecclesiam Sancti Petri ibidem.

Possessiones et hereditamenta omnia dicto servicio pertinentia sive spectantia.

Firma diversorum mesuagiorum seu Burgagiorum scituatorum jacentium et existentium in Le Olde Market place in fra parochiam Sancti Philippi Bristollie Scilicet unius mesuagii cum pertinentiis. Ibidem scituati in tenura Johannis Copye. viijs. unius mesuagii cum pertinentiis scituati ibidem in tenura Johannis Gregory vjs viijd unius mesuagii cum pertinentiis ibidem in tenura Rogeri Alexander vjs viiid unius Servicum predictum } viz. in Mesuagii cum pertinentiis ibidem in xlvs viijd Inde tenura Johannis White vjs viijd unius mesuagii cum pertinentiis ibidem in tenura Johannis Williams (?) vjs viijd unius gardini cum pertinentiis ibidem existentis in tenura Johannis Pill vjs viijd unius alii gardini ibidem in tenura Johannis Tiler xx.d. ac eciam

unius alii gardini ibidem modo in
tenura Jacobi Browne vjs viijd Que
omnes Summe in unum collecte att
ingunt in toto per annum.
Reprisa.

Memorandum that the said seruice or chauntrey was founded by one John Williams who graunted and gave one yearly pencion of viijli to be yearly paid owte of all hes Landes and tenementes which he then had w^t^in the Citie of Bristoll and countie of the same of all which he enfeffed one John Audelye and other by his dede Tripartite endented to the vses and Intentes as in an Indenture thereunto annexed declared and specified wherein he declared that the said Audelye and his cofeffees and ther heires and assignes aifter his decease shold stande seased to these of diverse persons ther declared upon condicion that the persons to whos uses the said Feoffes were and shold be Seased and all other persons that shold have use and Interest in the said Landes and tenements shold yearlie contente and paye viiili in the yeare for ever to the Wardens or proctoures of tha foresaid parish Church of Saincte Peter for ever for that purpose and entente that the said Churchewardens and other of the said parishe for the time being after the deth of the said Williams sholde w^t^in one monethe nominate and provide one honest priest to singe and celebrate for ever at thalter of O^r^ Ladye Belhowse w^t^in the foresaid Churche of Saincte Peter for the Soull of the said Williams Johane his [word omitted] and for all Christian Soull for ever and that also the said Churchewardens sholde yearly kepe one obiet in the said Churche for the said founder for ever and to distribute at the same obeit besides diverse somes of money to be paid to priestes, clarkes, and soche other unto the pore people of the same parishe in brede iijs. viijd. as by the aforesaid indenture doth more at large apier. The dates of both wch indentures and Dede Tripartite aforesaid ben the xiiij^th^ daye of Aprell in the xxjth. year of the Reigne of o^r^ late Soueraigne Lorde Kinge Henrie theight. Sithens the deth of the said

John Williams varyaunce growed betwene his heirs and the said churchewardens for paym^t^ of the said pencion of viiili. whereuppon after sute therin had in the Kinges Courte of Chuancery before the late Lord Audeley then lorde Chancellour of England, it was fully decreed and ordered by thassent of the parties that the said churchewardens and their successors shold have paid unto them the somme of vj li. by yeare owte of the said Landes for ever as by the same decre and order dated the xxiiij day of Novembre in the xxxijth. yeare of o^r^ late souveraigne Lordes Reigne more playnlye appereth. Sithens whiche tyme viz., sinse thauctoritie was given by acte of parliamente to the kinges Maiestie to assume and take into his handes all soche chaunteryes one John White owner of the abovesaid possessions owte whereof the said pencion of vjli sholde be paid hathe and dothe the same detaine and w^t^holde and will pay no parte thereof nevertheles the said churchwardens howe ever sence paid the priest his wages or salarye of ther own purses or charges, so that both the revenues of the aforesaid Landes whiche was given by one Mathewe Catchmaye towardes the maintenance of a priest in the said service and also the said annuall pencion of vjli have been whollye converted and employed to thententes purposes and uses as before it is declared till Easter last past.

p Humffrum vlton depnt.
,, Supris ibidem.

From this it would appear that this chantry was founded very late in Henry VIII's reign. What happened at St. Peter's was happening all over the country. Founders were everywhere taking surrenders to reclaim property given for pious purposes by their ancestors, and in consequence in 1545 an Act for the dissolution of chantries, hospitals and free chapels was passed in the Parliament that year, and this was the beginning of what Canon Jessopp has termed the great pillage which was destined to revolutionise the parochial and social life of our country.

Among Mr. Fox's documents are three inventories of the property of this chantry, of which the following is one :—[1]

This inventory indented, made the 15th. day of Aprill in the xxxvii yere of the reign of oure soverign lord King Henry the eight, Betwene the reverent father in God Paulle Buysshop of Bristow, John Carrill Esquier, Richard Pate and Edward Gastwike, gentleman, commissioners of our said sovereign lord the king consernung Chauntries, Hospitalles, Coleges, &c., of the one partie and Cristofer Joachym, Thomas Jeochym, Churchewardens of the Parishe Churche of Saint Petrs, in Saint Mary Porte ward, within the citye of Bristow, of thother parte, witnessethe that thes parcelles hereafter mencioned be all the Juelles, plate, ornamentes, goodes, and catalles, merely apperteyning to the service of John Williams, within the said churche, of all which parcelles we the said commissioners have gyven charge to the said Churchwardens safely to kepe the same from tyme to tyme untyll the kinges majesties pleasure be further knowen them as they wyll answere to oure sovereign Lord the Kinge at there uttermost perille.

Firste

	s	d
A chalice weying viij ounces di at iiijs ij the ownce amuntethe	xxx iiij	ix.
Item one payre of vestymentes of satten of Bridges coler grene pryseid att	xxs.	
Item one payre vestimentes of wursted coler blacke	xxs.	
Item iij alter cloothis	vis.	
Item a frunte of right white satten with a crucyfix embroodyrd upon hym	s xiii.	d iiij.
Item a masse book printed	iis.	
Item ij brasse candestyckes	iis.	
Item a paxe of iverye	viijd.	
Item ij cruettes of tyn and a sacring bell ..	xijd.	
Summa totalie	iiijli. xixs.	ixd.

[1] Fox MSS., lxxiii.

Document LXXV in addition has the following note in the margin respecting the chalice :—

"Whych chalyce was delyveryd into the Kynges Mynte to Sir Wylliam Shereyngton by Nicholas Woodhowse, Peres Cowper, and Sir John Pylle," and the date. There is a further endorsement: "Memorandum paid for a paire of crewettes and a bell whyche cowyd not be found at the delyveryn of the chauntry stuf 12d." This Sir William Sharington had a notorious career, and was one of the band of thieves who fattened on the fruits of the robbery of the parish churches at the time. He was appointed Vice-Treasurer of the mint at Bristol by Henry VIII, and at the beginning of Edward VI's reign he was accused of embezzlement and debasing the coinage. He was a creature of Seymour, but succeeded in throwing the odium on him and so secured his own acquittal.

The destruction of the chantries and the confiscation of their property was the prelude to further spoliation. On November 16th, 1538, an injunction was issued that, wherever they induced pilgrimages or offerings, statues had to be taken down and lights no longer burned before them. On the accession of Edward VI the iconoclastic feeling increased, and on January 25th, 1550, an Act was passed ordering all images yet remaining in churches, except monumental images of any king, prince, nobleman, or other dead person which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a saint, to be destroyed. Reference to these proceedings is made in two inventories in the possession of Mr. Francis Fox,[1] which Dr. Cuthbert Atchley has accurately transcribed and printed with valuable notes in the *All Saints' Magazine*.[2]

The inventories are as follows :—

A remembrans to Mr. Adams of suche thinges that is in the vestre within saynt peters churche Now in my remembrans—

ffyrst the gret clothe that did hange before the hye Auter

Mr. Joachim haue hym.

[1] Fox MSS., No. lxxxii, lxxx.

[2] *All Saints', Clifton, Magazine*, Nov., 1900, pp. 200–206.

Jtem clothe of the rode is with pers tailor.

Jtem the clothe that was drauen in lent in the quere.

Jtem ij olde copes on of blew wusterd and the other of yelow sylke.

Jtem the cope of Red velvet inbrodred which parson father did gyue.

Jtem a payer of grene vestymentes of byrge saten.

Jtem a payer of crymsone saten inbroded.

Jtem a payer of cloth of tyssew imbrodred.

Jtem a payer of blew wusterd vestymentes.

Jtem a payer of whit fustyan withowt ony imbrodryng for lent.

Jtem a payer of whit of fustyan with a crosse inbrodred.

Jtem ij surples for the parson.

Jtem v surplesses for clerkes.

Jtem the beame and bollis[1] of brasse of owr ladis chappell with the chaynes of laten.

Jtem ij gret standartes of brasse.

Jtem the oyle fatte of Tynne.

Jtem the lanterne for visitation with the clerke.

Jtem ij trestels for the herse which the clerke haue in his howse and the lanterne also.

Jtem to euery auter ther must be ij frontes and front clothes the hye auter the rode auter saynt kateryns and owr ladys of pyte.

Jtem ther must be to euery auter that was in the church ij clothes of the passyon besyde all other clothes that dyd couere the ymages in the lent.

Jtem ther is the old pykes and ij clothes for hym.

Jtem ther is a corporas or twayne with cases.

Jtem ther is iiij payre of brausen candelstyckes besyde owr ladys auter of the chappell and the hye auter.

Jtem ther is all the peowtre bollys of the rode.

Jtem ther is the palle with the peters keyes.

[1] Bowls. The brass bowls on the rood-beam in which the rood-lights burned. (2)

Ther is the great Antifonall boke for the parson.

Jtem ther is ij antifonals for the other syde of the quere.

Jtem ther is ij grayles.

Jtem iiij masses-bokes for the hye auter of prynt ij badde and one good.

Jtem ther is a masse boke couerred with red lether wryten and a klappis of coper gylted which was in the tresor house.

Jtem a olde legend boke.

Jtem iiij old bokes.

Jtem ij ymnalls.

Jtem vj processynalls.

Jtem on boke lyke a quere of parchement of the story of the transfyguration.

Jtem ij broken bokes prynted of the visitation.

Jtem a old masse boke of wryten hande.

Sir yf did covenant with your prest for certayne wages to kepe your cure he maye not take vpp ony proffettes ther belongyn to the Churche now becawse of the sequestracion for euery peny that he hathe take must be rekened in his wages except he promysed hym wages with the avantage of the church which J thynk ye did not.

He hathe receuyd iiij or v pens for purifications.

He haue receuyd viijd for weddings money which no curat hathe besides his wages.

Also per tailor receuyd on cristmas Daye iijs viijd. ob.

Jtem iiij crisomes.

on of Richard Pyttes wyf
on of Rendals wif
one of sopers dowghter.
on of Richard ap owen wyf. } iiijd.

Thynventorye made the xjth. day of August in the vjth yere of the Raigne of our Soueraigne lord kynge Edward the vjth, 1552, Aswell of all Suche goodes as hathe byne Sowld of the paryshe of Sancti peters within the Cytye of bristow to thuse and maynteynaunce of the same churche Sense the begynnynge

of the kynges maiestyeys Raign that now ys As of Suche goodes as ys Remaynyng in the seyd churche of Sancti peter at this present day of the makyng hereof.

ffyrst Sowld in the ij° yere of the Raigm of the kynges majestie that now ys by peter Cowper and Roger Walker then proctors of the seyde church of syluer plate whych they sowld into the kynges mynt at bristow xxiiijli. iijs jd. of whych Summa of money the seyde proctors payed for the defassyng And pullyng downe of Jmages in the seyd church, and for ffyllyng and makyng vp the tabernacles wher the Jmages Stood and for whytlymyng payntyng and paving of the same church and makyng Skaffolds and other necessaryes As yt dothe appeie by theyre Accompte xxiijli vjs. viijd.[1]

Also there was delyueryd by Roger walker and Thomas dole then prooctors of the same church the ij day of Awgust in the iij^{de} yere of the Raigm of our seyd Soueraign lord to Robert Record comptroler of the kynges maiestye mynt of Bristow of gylt Syluer—xvij poundes weyght and iij ounces.

Also in the iiijth yere of the Raign of our seyd Soueraign lord ther was sowld by thomas dole and Master Robert Adaums then prooctors of the seyd churche of old vestementes and other old stuf for the whyche they recevyd iijli. The whyche iij poundes the seyd proctors Thomas dole and Robert Adaums Dyd geve to pore people of that paryshe.

Also in the vth yere of the Raign of our seyd soueraign lord Master Robert Adaums then beinge prooctor of the seyd church John ffawkener the other prooctor ther was made in the Bodye of the seyde churche new pewys or seatis of the whych pewes the chergis therof mountyd to xxxli xviis vd. of the whyche xxxli xviis vd the churche dyd owe to the same Robert Adaums At the makyng of hys Accompte the xxiii day of marche in the vjth yere of the kynges maiestieys Raign that now ys—xiiijli. ixs. viijd. ffor the whyche dette the parysh dyd sell for to pay the seyd Robert Adaums in the seyd vjth yere of Syluer plate xvijli. viijs. iijd.

[1] These sums should be multiplied by about 15 to give the modern equivalents.

Soo the rest of the seyd xviij. viijs. iijd. Remaynyth Also in the seyde churche ther ys Remaynyng in the seyd churche of Sancti Peter at this present day of the makyng of this present Jnventory (1552) two chalysse of syluer Duble gylt wayinge xl ounces.

Item a Sewte of vestementes of purple velvett, braynchyd with okey leves with a coope of the same with iij buttons of syluer.

Item oon Sewte of vestementes of veluett blewe braynchyd with a coope of ye same.

Item a chysabyll with deacon and Subdeacon of red veluett branchyd.

Item a chysabyll of clothe of tyssew with a albe.

Item a chysabyll of blake satten with a backe of clothe of Tuyssew.

Item a chysabyll of whyt satten.

Item (v) Belles with a small bell Cawled a morow masse bell, and another lytle bell Caulyd a sanctus bell.

Item iij corpores caces and iij corpores clothys.

Item A payre of Organs.

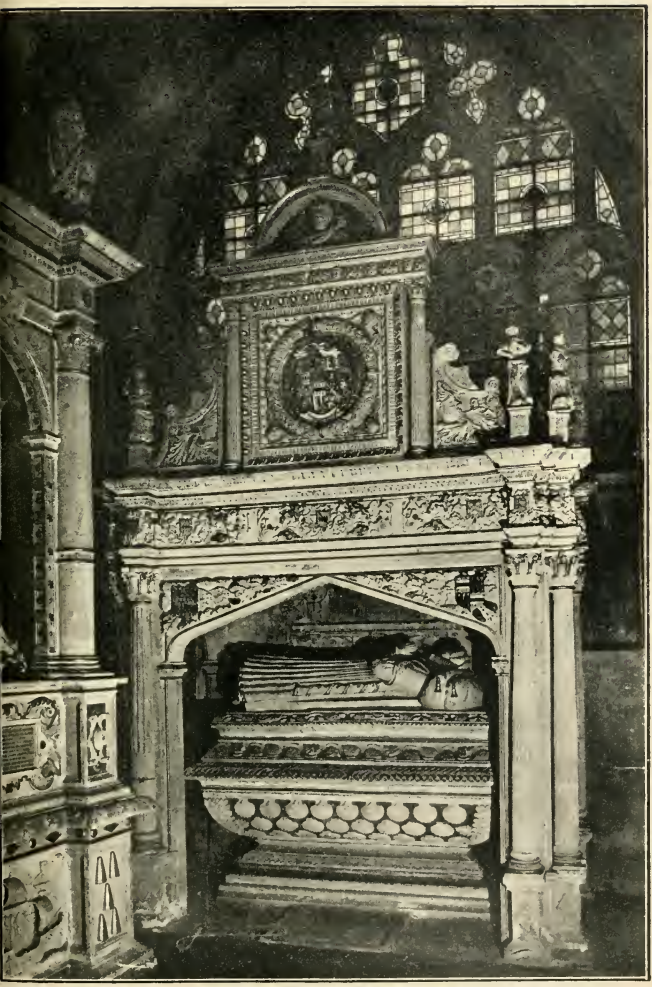
These goods were doubtless seized by the Crown, the bells and one chalice being returned to the church by the commissioners.

Memorandum [1] that the xxiiij[th] daie of Maie in the seventhe yere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lorde Kinge Edward the sixt, 1553, Wm. Savage and Thomas Jo(achim) proctoures of the Churche of Saincte Peter w[t]in the Citie of Bristowe have by this bill indented received of William Chester Mayor of the same citie and other the kinge his Majesties Commissioners there oone calis of silver all gilt weing xiiij (?) unces and viij belles safely and surelie to be kept to the Kinge his Ma[ties] use. In witnesse whereof as well the said Commissioners as the said proctoures interchaungeablie to thes billes indented have subscribed their names youen the daie and yere above written.

Exchequer K. R., Church Goods, 2/65, f. 15.

These inventories give some information as to the interior of the church. It contained beside the high altar and that to the Holy Cross, one to St. Catherine and another to our Lady of Pity. Those to the Holy Cross and St. Catherine were both on the north side, the former probably in the chapel now occupied by the organ, and there seems every reason to believe that the altar to our Lady of Pity occupied the site of the ancient chapel to the Virgin, in which was an image of St. George at the east end of the south aisle. Across the church was a rood, the staircase to which still exists on the north wall of the church. The treasure house spoken of was the room over the vestry, which was called as late as the beginning of the last century the Treasury. Among the names mentioned in the inventory is that of Master Robert Adams. He is the person described in a scurrilous letter, quoted by Seyer, as "proud addamys." He was a man of considerable position in the city, having occupied the mayor's chair twice. By trade he was a tanner, and his house was still standing on Newgate Hill at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He had a tanyard on the bank of the Frome, and occupied also a garden in Marchall Street, which he leased from the vestry in 1553.[1] Behind the organ, quite hidden from view, is a beautiful-altar tomb of late Perpendicular work. The centre and ends of the cornice are occupied by angels holding shields, and in the finely-carved spandrels of the depressed Tudor arch are shields bearing the letters I.A. and R.A. The front of the tomb below the slab is panelled with quatrefoils. The tomb has been ascribed by Pryce to some member of the Aldworth family, but this is not so. On the lease of the garden alluded to there is an endorsement "counterpart of a lease to Robert Adams, . . . and signed with ye two initial letters of his name R.A., which letters are upon his monument and that of his wife Jane, being ye olde monument in ye north wall next ye vestry door of St. Peter's Church. He had been twice Mayor of Bristol in ye y^{r} 1545 and 1548 (*sic* 1558)." The

[1] Fox MSS., xlv.



Page 292. *W. Moline.*

NEWTON MONUMENT, SOUTH AISLE.

Page 293. *W. Moline.*

ALDWORTH MONUMENT, SOUTH AISLE.

tomb is also referred to in the will of Thomas Addams, tanner, 1585, who desired to be buried in the church there (St. Peter's) in the north side where his father had erected a tomb and lay buried with both his wives. The same initials appeared on the barge board and spandrels of the door of his house demolished some years ago.

According to the Taxatio Eccles: P. Nicholas IV in 1291, the portion that the Prior of St. James was entitled to in St. Peter's was eleven shillings. At the Dissolution the advowson, which was subject to a pension of twenty shillings,[1] with those of other churches belonging to St. James was bought by Henry Brayne, merchant tailor of London, whose successor, Sir Charles Gerrard, about 1626 disposed of it to the Corporation, from whom it was purchased in the last century by a body of trustees.

In or about 1580 the Great House by the church was purchased by Sir Henry Newton, of Barrs Court, and on the south side of the south aisle chapel is the very beautiful monument erected to a lady of his family. This monument has been carefully described by Miss Roper, and in Savage's MSS. there is this description as it appeared in 1669: "There lyes on ye tombe a large statue of a woman on her back, and over her on ye inside of the Canopy is a large eseschion with many qrings the first coat is argent on a chevron Azure, 3 garbs or being the bearing of the family of Newton sometimes of Bars Court in the pish of Bitton in Gloucestershire, now extinct, about 1663 by the death of Sir John Newton Barronett, the rest of the coats on ye dexter part of the Escochion are the qrings of that ancient family which are impaled with qrly 1° 2 Barres and in chiefe 3 escalops the like escalops in base, 2° three broad arrowes in pale, the third as the second, the fourth as the first, which shows that the gentlewoman there buried was wife to one of that family. . . . there is no epitaph." It is evident the inscription now on the tomb that it was

[1] Dugdale, *Valor Eccles*, vol. iv.

erected to the memory of a maiden lady, an ancestor of the family of the Newtons, of Barrs Court, is of later date and is untrustworthy. Latimer states that on February 13th, 1655, the body of Lady Newton was brought in for interment into St. Peter's Church, where her stately monument still remains; but I think that a casual examination will show that the monument is of much earlier date, and there seems little doubt but that Mr. Ellacombe was right in assigning the tomb to Antholin, wife of John Newton, of Harptree. The monument is unfinished on the east side, where the ornament is not so easily seen. It occupies the centre of the south wall, while the Aldworth tomb, which was erected probably between 1630 and 1640, is not in the middle of the east wall, which would have been its natural position had not the previously-erected Newton tomb prevented it.

Miss Roper has also described the Aldworth tomb, which is a fine and costly monument to the memory of Alderman Robert Aldworth and his wife Martha. The former died on November 6th, 1634, and the latter on May 2nd, 1619. The northern compartment of the tomb is filled in by marble slabs bearing an inscription relating to the Elbridge family, who were descended from Robert Aldworth. Among the names is that of John Elbridge, who died on February 22nd, 1738, and who is gratefully remembered as the founder of the Bristol Royal Infirmary. A curious fact about this portion is that it is an addition of later date, and the return of the cornice of the old tomb is still to be found behind. The imitation of the old work is excellent, and there is only the curious position of the Merchant Venturers' Arms to lead one to suspect that the tomb is not in every particular original. All the histories, following Barrett's lead, credit Aldworth with having founded the St. Peter's Almshouse, as well as having given a parsonage house to the church. It appears, however, from a deed in possession of the vestry that in the alterations to the Great House it was necessary to interfere with the almshouse and the rectory which had been standing for many years, and in exchange for

these buildings Aldworth erected a new rectory in Peter Street, and an almshouse close by. He left various benefactions to the parish.

On May 31st, 1634, Archbishop Laud held a visitation of the churches of the diocese. Unfortunately the returns of the local churches no longer exist, but his citation to the rector and churchwardens of St. Peter's still remains. [1]

Citation to Appear at Archbishop Laud's Visitation.

"Memorandum that the parsons, vicars, curates, impropriators, farmers and tenants, parish clearkes and schoolmasters, phisitions, barber surgions, and midwives, together with the churchwardens and sidemen of the sayd parrish are to appeare before the most Reverend father in God William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his grace or his Vicar generall or other his commissaries at his visitation to be holden in Bristol in the 31st. day of Maye next anno Domini 1634, and on the second daye of June next followinge in the parish church of Saint Nicholas betwen the howers of nine and twelfe of the clock in the fore noones and exhibite there institutions, letters of orders, licences, and other ther titles and dispensations, and to pay ther procurations due to the sayd Lord Archbishop and all shuch as have wills to prove or adminestrations to take forth are to appeare at the same times and places aforesayd.

per me Henry Wheataker apariter.

St. Peter's. Mr. Robert Prichard Rector.

Richard Culham
Josias Clutterbucke. } Churchwardens.

John Rowsell
John Bath. } Sidemen.

In the same year a mandate to contribute to the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral London, was issued to the churchwardens

[1] Fox MSS., cx.

throughout the country. The mandate to St. Peter's still exists.[1] It calls on the wardens, either in the parish church or otherwise at the particular houses of the parishioners, to ask and receive the benevolences of all the well-disposed people. It is signed by Mathew Warren, Mayor, Henrye Yate, Alderman, and countersigned by Robert Ellicit and Tho. Lloyd. It will be remembered that the restoration of St. Paul's referred to was commenced in 1633, under Inigo Jones as architect, the total sum collected being £101,330.

The earliest vestry book begins in 1655, but at the beginning is given an inventory of goods belonging to the church in 1654:—

A noate of such things as belongeth to the church, and wheare they are.

IN THE VESTRY.

One table boorde, one chest, two biffetts with wainskott, one greene Carpett, 3 yards and longe five greene cushions, one red velvett pulpitt cloth, and a cushion sutable, and one little greene satten cushion.

IN THE CHANCEL.

One table boorde, seven movable foorms, foure longe canvis cushions, one great Church Bible.

IN THE CHURCH.

Seven mooable Foormes, two beares with two coffiens, two books of Erasmus.

MORE BELONGINGE TO THE CHURCH.

One diap tablecloth 3 yards and half in length, three fflagon potts, containinge six quarts, less half a pinte, fowre bras candell sticks, two hanginge candell sticks, one silver cup with a couer, wavinge 16 ounces les 6d., one dext.

[1] Fox MSS., cxii.

In the Tower.

Six bells, six wheeles, six clappers, one bell rope, tenn brases, one clock two paise ropes.

These particulars before mentioned, are delivered up by Peter Hiley unto Robert Fry, new Churchwarden, for the takinge care and charge of them in the psents of.

According to Savage, the following monuments were in the church in his time, though they have since disappeared :—

"Richard Workman of Treshan, Physitian, buried Dec. 8th, 1668, Elizabeth wife of James Fisher, and daughter of Benjamin Pil of Standerwike, Som., Sept. 7th, 1667, Henry Backwell of Wrington, Aug. 2nd, 1664, and William Yeamans, Grocer, and his Wife, Father to ye famous Mr. Wm. Yeamans buried in the churchyard of St. Phillips."

There is also a fine monument to the memory of Mr. George Harrington, sometime mayor and alderman of this city, who died January 2nd, 1639. There are effigies of himself and his wife, with the brewers' arms; the monument has been described by Miss Roper. It is a great pity that its position behind the organ completely hides it from view.

Fortunately, as we have seen, the bells were not confiscated with the rest of the property in 1553, but in 1676 they were either recast or a new peal purchased. This peal proved unsatisfactory, and in 1729 another peal of eight instead of the old six were cast by Abraham Rudhall.

The treble bell (E flat) bears the date 1729 and the Rudhall border.

No. 2 (D). "Prosperity to the City of Bristoll a.r. 1729."

No. 3 (C). "Peace and good neighbourhood a.r. 1729."

No. 4 (B flat). "ABR. RVDHALL of Gloucester Castvs All 1729."

No. 5 (A flat). "Prosperity to all our benefactors a.r. 1729."

No. 6 (G). "Hugh Waterman, Rector a.r. 1729."

No. 7 (F). "ROBT. CURTIS AND WM. SWEEPER CHURCHWARDENS A.R. 1729."

Tenor (E flat). "I TO THE CHURCH THE LIVING CALL AND TO THE GRAVE DO SUMMON ALL A.R. 1729."

The initials of the founder are in each case separated by the figure of one bell, and there is also ornamental work. In addition there is a small, ancient bell called for many years the "Sanctus" Bell. This was rung regularly at eight o'clock until the opening years of the last century, when this was discontinued. It seems probable that this was a survival of the evening angelus.

The latter quarter of the seventeenth century saw a good deal of Nonconformist persecution. In the Broadmead Records the Parson of St. Peter's, a certain Pleydall or Pledwall, is mentioned as one of the clergy sent to spy out the meetings of the Dissenters, and there is still in existence the order[1] of William Goulston, Bishop of Bristol, dated February 6th, 1681, instructing the minister and churchwardens to furnish a list of the names and surnames of the Dissenters in the parish. In the Broadmead Records it mentions that on March 19th, 1681, when the Nonconformists were preaching in the lanes beyond Baptist Mills, Parson Pledwell went by before they began.

The seventeenth century saw a good many restorations and repairs to the church, and the practice of letting property on long leases at a nominal rent with a large initial payment gave churchwardens fairly large sums of money to play with, which they spent in "beautifying" the church. The classical porch erected on the north side, long since destroyed, was one of the results of this policy.

Barrett states that in 1749 a faculty was obtained for beautifying the church at a cost of £800, which was raised by a rate. Unfortunately, the church books are missing, and what was then done is unknown.

[1] Fox MSS., 114.

In 1761 there is a vestry minute which anticipated the objects of the Free and Open Church Association: "At a meeting of the vestry, it is agreed that there shall be no select seats in the church, but that all the seats shall be in common. Wm. Barry, Rector."

The organ with its beautiful case was probably erected about 1770, as it was in 1772 that Mr. Rice Wasbrough was appointed the first organist at a salary of £20.

In 1794 it appears that a vestry meeting was held with regard to the condition of the church. The columns and arches on the north side were said to be in a ruinous condition, needing to be rebuilt, and a committee was appointed to go into the matter. This committee made a number of drastic suggestions. They recommended the rebuilding of the columns and arches, the taking down and rebuilding of the chancel arch, and the repairing of the church. They mentioned that the north wall had given way, and that it might be necessary to rebuild it, and stated that it was absolutely necessary to remove the pulpit during the repair, besides advising a number of minor but expensive renewals. The rebuilding of the pillars and chancel arch was sanctioned, and this appears to have been partially done; but I do not think that the other alterations were made, as fortunately the carpenter's bill was very heavy, the vestry stigmatising it as exorbitant.

One cannot close this paper, however, without alluding to the beautiful Georgian candelabra in the nave. The workmanship of these is excellent—as regards furniture, they are the finest pieces in the church. Up to the present I have been unable to trace their history. They bear neither inscription nor date, though they are identical with those at Backwell.

Among the other things belonging to the church is an ancient pyx box. It is cylindrical with domed cover, over which an iron band the staple of the lock passes. It is bound round with iron bands, and had originally three locks. Attached to the iron staple is a ring for suspension. The parish tradition

is that it was used for reserving the sacrament, but it is evident that it was a box for keeping a valuable object, such as a seal or possibly money. There is a similar box at Oxford.

There were found some little time ago by the verger three parish maces, thrown behind one of the monuments. These have been repaired and restored, and are now used in the services of the church. The verger's staff is of beautiful metal work. It bears no date, only the inscription "St. Peter's Parish."

Here we must draw our history of the church to a close. The nineteenth century is a story of restoration. After restoration, as a result, many interesting things have disappeared, among them being the font, which I learn was a small classical one, not unlike others of the period. The present font was designed by Street, and brought from Backwell Church. The tombs have been denuded of their colours, the interesting hatchments have been destroyed; the floor, I am told, has been concreted and raised; the little that remained of the ancient stained glass, including a circle containing a beautiful head of our Lord, has disappeared, so too have the arms of England mentioned by Savage, as well as a coat in a window of the north aisle, which was "1° qrly 1 fretty between each fret a flour de lis or, 2° g a lyon rt a, 3° a 3 lyons pass guardt. or this impaled with 1° defaced 2° o a spread eagle sable 3rd as second 4° a lyon rt crowned or." In spite of all, there has been a steady progression towards what it is imagined was the original state of the church, and though one may reasonably deplore the losses, one may trust that further reparations to the building will be conducted on conservative lines.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS.

PART II.

SAXON AND EARLY WORK.

By ALFRED C. FRYER, Ph.D., F.S.A.

Viollet-le-Duc was not acquainted with any font in France anterior to the eleventh century, and certainly very few of our English fonts are of an earlier date. Although at that period every priest could baptise, and therefore every parish would possess a font, yet before that time they appear to have been exceptional and rare. It has been conjectured that many of the earlier vessels may have been basins, and it is probable that a large number of pre-Conquest fonts were nothing better than wooden tubs.[1] It is quite probable that a few of the wooden fonts may have given place to stone fonts of Anglo-Saxon workmanship,[2] while they in their turn were possibly superseded by the work of more skilful Norman masons. The actual number of pre-Norman fonts in England is very limited. It is nearly a quarter of a century since Mr. Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A., wrote a valuable paper in our *Transactions* on this subject,[3] and our knowledge of pre-Norman fonts has not progressed much since that date. Gloucester-

[1] In Celtic times it was usual to baptise in running water, and in the Anglo-Saxon period it was probably the custom to baptise in holy wells or streams. Mr. Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A., in his learned paper in our *Transactions* (see vol. xi, pp. 84–104), draws attention to the fact that we possess very few Saxon fonts, that wooden tub-shaped fonts were in use in that period, and that probably the rite of baptism may have been largely administered outside the sacred buildings, after the manner of the ancient British Church.

[2] Mr. Francis Bond, in his volume on *Fonts and Font-covers*, is of opinion that plain Anglo-Saxon stone fonts may survive in considerable numbers. It is doubtful, however, if this theory can be maintained, as plain rough work is no proof of very early work, either in fonts or other sculpture.

[3] "Saxon Baptismal Font in Deerhurst Priory Church," by Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A., vol. xi, pp. 84–104.

shire, however, possesses one of these early ornamented fonts, and it is found in the old Saxon church of Deerhurst, on the banks of the River Severn.

The ancient font at Deerhurst appears to have been ejected from the church at some unknown period. Some conjecture that this took place at the time of the Reformation, while others believe it was in the troublous days of Cromwell; yet it is not impossible that the parishioners themselves removed it at a still earlier date to make room for a brand new font of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century workmanship.

In April, 1845, a drawing of the bowl of the font was exhibited at one of the early meetings of the British Archæological Association by Mr. W. H. Gomonde. He mentioned that it had been kept in a farmyard for some years, and he was afraid it would be seen no more, as it had been sold for the sum of £6 and carried away he knew not where.[1] However, it had fallen into good hands, and Dr. Wilberforce, before he became Bishop of Oxford,[2] was instrumental in again returning it to its sacred use. For a time the bowl was preserved at Longdon Church; but in 1870 Miss Strickland, of Apperley Court, found an upright, carved stone a mile and a half from Deerhurst.[3] This stone was believed to be the stem of the ancient font, as it fitted the bowl so well that it would be indeed strange if they had no connection with each other. Miss Strickland presented a new font to Longdon Church, and the ancient font was again restored to Deerhurst.[4]

[1] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Association*, vol. i, p. 65.

[2] Ashwell's *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, p. 261.

[3] See *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, vol. ii, p. 110.

[4]

	ft.	in.
Total height without step (not including 4 or 5 in. let into step)	3	5
Diameter across the top	2	4½
Diameter of interior of bowl	2	0
Depth of interior of bowl	1	1
Depth of exterior of bowl	1	9
Greatest circumference of bowl	7	5

The interior of the bowl does not appear ever to have been lined with lead, and originally it had no hole at the bottom to draw off the water, which seems to have been drained off at the side.

Page 303. FONT, DEERHURST.

The bowl consists of a block of rather coarse-grained oolite, which was probably brought from the neighbouring Cotswold Hills. It is tub-shaped, and the surface is covered with ornamental sculpture. In examining interlacing ornaments on fonts we must not forget that it is never a proof of Saxon work unless it is a highly specialised character known to occur at an early date. In the case of the Deerhurst font, Mr. Francis Bond reminds us in his work on *Fonts and Font-covers* that it is not likely any Norman craftsman could have produced work so characteristically pre-Conquest as this even if he cared to do so. The pattern on the bowl and a portion of the stem consists, says Professor J. O. Westwood, of "spiral lines running off and conjoining with other spirals, forming an endless pattern." The same writer also states that "the most characteristic of all Celtic patterns is that produced by two or three spiral lines starting from a fixed point, their opposite extremities going off to the centres of coils formed by other spiral lines. Instances in metal-work of this pattern occur in several objects found in Ireland and in different parts of England. In stone it occurs only, so far as we are aware, on Deerhurst font. As it does not appear in MSS. executed in England after the ninth century, we may conclude that this is the oldest ornamented work in the country."[1] The late Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., when writing of spiral patterns, remarked: "There are, broadly speaking, two distinct forms of spiral patterns used in Celtic art: (1) when the band of which the spiral is formed gradually expands into a trumpet-shaped end; (2) where the band of which the spiral is formed remains the same breadth throughout its whole length. The first of these forms is the earlier of the two, and is copied directly from the metal-work of pagan times."[2] The Deerhurst spirals are of the second or later type. Professor Westwood could not say whether the Irish in the first instance received their styles of ornament from

[1] *Grammar of Ornament* (*Celtic*), p. 95.
[2] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1883–4, pp. 253 and 308.

the early British Christians, or whether it was in Ireland that they originated. He suggests, however, that Byzantium and the East may have afforded the ideas which early Celtic Christian artists developed in the retirement of their monasteries, as it is known that the British and Irish missionaries were constantly travelling to the Holy Land and Egypt.[1] The Bishop of Bristol, whose knowledge of Celtic ornamentation is so wide and extensive, says that this famous font "has the same remarkable combination of unmistakable Irish work with work of a diametrically opposite character, an elegant classical arabesque. For the Irish influence, Maildubh's presence may afford a sufficient explanation; for the other part of the artistic work I am disposed not to look to Anglican or any other home influence, but to look boldly to the foreign source, as I believe, of the beautiful work of the Northumbrian Angles, and to look to that source at a date which gives to our Wessex art a great antiquity."[2] He argues that Birinus, with his Lombardic connection, baptised the King of Wessex at the Oxford Dorchester in 635; and the Northumbrian Oswald, being by chance at the Court at the time, having come for his bride, the King's daughter, Birinus would naturally establish at once a certain amount of religious pomp and apparatus, and that it would be like in style to that to which he had been accustomed in his home in North Italy, presumably with some blending of the kind of ornament which he found in popular acceptance among his flock. The Bishop of Bristol reminds us that Deerhurst is on the Severn, and that the influence which gave Italian and Irish work to the district south of Malmesbury may conceivably have extended across the border to a distance not so great. "If that is not the explanation of the Deerhurst font," says the Bishop, "it remains a coincidence which demands an explanation, that the two examples on a considerable scale of this most un-English pattern are found on either side

[1] *Grammar of Ornament (Celtic)*, p. 95.
[2] *St. Aldhelm: his Life and Times*, p. 177.

of the great Wessex monastery of Aldhelm, founded by an Irishman." [1]

Mr. Hudd reminds us, in his valuable paper on the Deerhurst font, [2] that although the most distinctive characteristic of Celtic art is the absence of foliage, yet there are examples existing of diverging spirals and foliage on the same stone. The famous stone at St. Vigean's [3] has been identified with a Pictish king of the name of Drost, who was slain in the year 729, and one of the sides is described by Dr. Anderson as "a foliaceous scroll with lanceolate leaves, and a triplet of fruit alternately on either side of the wavy stem." [4] This description reminds us of the scroll-work on the Deerhurst font, although it does not represent the same plant. The Ruthwell Cross, in Annandale, was made by Cædman, and he died in 680 A.D. The foliaceous enrichments on this celebrated cross are described by Dr. Anderson as "running scrolls representing a vine, with its branches alternately recurved, and bearing grapes in symmetrical clusters, a bird or beast lodging in each of the branches, and feeding on the fruit." [5] Mr. Hudd is of opinion that the artist did not intend to represent a vine on the Deerhurst font, but endeavoured to portray the "trailing dog-rose" (*Rosa arvensis*), and he draws attention to the fact that at Britford Church, near Salisbury, there is an ancient archway decorated with Celtic or Saxon interlaced work, the borders of which much resemble the borders of the Deerhurst font. [6] These two scrolls portray different plants, yet the connecting links by which the sprays are united are very similar. These little connecting links, technically called "garters," are probably copied from goldsmiths' work, for which the Saxons were celebrated. [7] Similar connecting links are on the Ruthwell Cross, and also

[1] *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 272.
[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi, p. 98.
[3] *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd Series, pp. 198–200.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 194, fig. 125. [5] *Ibid.*, figs. 142, 143, and pp. 238, 244 *n.*
[6] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxxii, p. 497.
[7] *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club* (1885), vol. i, p. 20.

on the beautiful cross at Bakewell. Mr. Hudd suggests the possibility that these scroll patterns were imitated from Roman mosaic pavements by pre-Norman workmen, and he reminds us that the Woodchester pavement, with its border of scroll-work, is only a few miles south of Deerhurst, and that foliaceous patterns are quite a common feature on Samian ware.

We have already referred to Mr. Hudd's remarks on the Ruthwell Cross and the famous stone at St. Vigean's, having foliaceous enrichments somewhat of the same character as the two bands on the Deerhurst font.[1] The Ruthwell Cross is ascribed to the closing years of the seventh century, and the St. Vigean's stone to the first half of the eighth century. If the Bishop of Bristol's conjecture is correct, then the Deerhurst font is a little earlier than the Ruthwell Cross.

The early date assigned to the Deerhurst font by so eminent a scholar as the Bishop of Bristol forces us to ask the somewhat pertinent question whether stone fonts existed in England at that date. We hesitate to give any definite reply, but we feel that there is much force in the contention that these ancient Saxon fonts may have been originally constructed for well-covers. Mr. Hudd reminds us, in his paper on the Deerhurst font, that "a stone object, somewhat resembling the upper part of the Deerhurst font, is represented in an ancient MS. in the British Museum,[2] the ornamental decoration with which it is covered consisting entirely of spirals. This represents, however, not a baptismal font, but a sculptured stone well-cover, such as one often sees in North Italy." The same writer adds that "it is quite possible that the so-called 'Saxon Font' in South Hayling Church, Hampshire, which, according to Longcroft,[3] 'was found in 1827 in a shallow well in the south parish,' may have been a Saxon well-cover, rather than a baptismal font. As described and figured by

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi, p. 98.

[2] Cotton MS., "Nero," c. iv.

[3] "Biographical Account of the Hundred of Bosmere."

Mr. J. Harris,[1] this interesting relic, when discovered, consisted of a square block of limestone measuring 2 ft. 3 in. at the top, having a large hole at the bottom, which permitted the water to flow in from the spring, and a smaller hole at the side allowing it to escape into the adjacent pond. All four faces are ornamented with geometrical figures of early character, among which divergent spirals are clearly visible." If well-covers were in use in early times in England as we know they were in Italy, and were used for holy wells in which persons were baptised, may not the Deerhurst font, in its present condition, consist of the covering stones, or well-heads, of two of these holy wells? The Deerhurst bowl does not appear ever to have been lined with lead, and originally it had no hole at the bottom to draw off the water, which seems to have been drained off at the side. These facts favour the theory that this famous font may have consisted of two well-heads.

The neighbouring parish of Elmstone, called in Domesday Book "Almondeston," belonged to the monks of Deerhurst, and it is of interest to note that the remarkable fragment of a sculptured stone preserved in that church is covered on three faces with diverging spirals of the C type, resembling those on the Deerhurst font. The sides of this stone have been bevelled off, and it may have been used as a holy-water stoup in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, yet it is quite probable that the square hole on the top is part of the original cross.[2]

[1] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* (1886), vol. xlii, p. 65, pl. 7.

[2] The present fragment is 2 ft. 4 in. in height, and has a rectangular hole (8½ in. by 9 in. by 5½ in.) at the top. The four corners have been roughly bevelled off at some period, and consequently the stone now presents the appearance of an octagon. The spirals have diameters varying from 4 in. to 5 in., and each pair vary in length from 8 in. to 10 in. The Rev. George Bayfield Roberts, M.A., the Vicar of Elmstone, considers that the stone had the corners bevelled off in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, so that it might be used as a holy-water stoup. The hole at the top may then have been made for that purpose, but it is possible that it once formed part of the cross, and that the hole is original. One face of the original stone has no ornament upon it, while the other three faces have been adorned with the spiral pattern.

It has been conjectured that this stone was the pedestal of the Deerhurst font. Mr. Hudd, however, has proved conclusively that the Elmstone fragment never formed part of a font, and that the pedestal now at Deerhurst is in its right place.[1] Mr. Hudd is also of opinion that the spiral work on the present pedestal at Deerhurst is more like that on the body of the font than are the Elmstone spirals, being enclosed in panels; that it fits the upper part of the font much better than the Elmstone fragment could ever have fitted it; and that the intimate connection between Deerhurst and Elmstone in Saxon times is quite sufficient to account for a stone which was probably a portion of a cross being ornamented with a similar pattern.

The pedestal of the Deerhurst font is adorned with divergent spirals, resembling those on the bowl enclosed in similar panels, but separated from each other by panels ornamented with interlacing strap-work. The upper part is decorated with seven panels, of which four contain the spiral ornaments. The lower portion has been cut down, and now forms an octagonal stem inserted in an octagonal step, which is probably of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date. It is difficult to conjecture when the stem was cut, but it was probably done by mediæval workmen.

The ancient font in Chester Cathedral is of foreign workmanship, and was presented by the late Duke of Westminster. Such gifts are rare, and with the exception of the Tournai bowls,[2] most of our fonts have been made in England. Quite recently, however, the Church of St. John the Baptist, The Lea,[3] has been enriched by a white marble sculptured bowl and elegant pedestal of considerable antiquity. This beautiful

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi, p. 102.

[2] Winchester Cathedral, Southampton (St. Michael's), East Meon, St. Mary Bourne, Lincoln Minster, Thornton Curtis, and St. Peter's, Ipswich.

[3] This parish is in the Diocese of Gloucester, but a portion is situated in Herefordshire.

Page 308.

FONT, ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST,
THE LEA.

gift has been presented by Mrs. Hope-Edwardes in memory of her mother,[1] and was purchased from a London dealer, who received it direct from Italy. The bowl[2] was originally a holy-water stoup, possessing no drain; but it has now been re-dedicated, and in future will serve as a font for the rite of baptism.

The bowl is ornamented round the top with a narrow band of mosaic ($\frac{3}{4}$ inch), composed of gold diamonds set in triangles of dark blue, having a border above and below of alternate red and white triangles. Beneath a conventional pattern ($1\frac{1}{2}$ inches) is a richly-sculptured band ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches), containing eight scenes—

1. A man rowing a boat with mast and sail.
2. An ass trampling on a crowned dragon.
3. A merman holding his two tails with each hand. This scene has been re-carved and inserted in the bowl on another piece of marble.
4. Serpent coiled round a lion.
5. Man with large fish (? dolphin).
6. Dog with long ears having placed the forefeet on the back of a ram is biting it.
7. Two mermaids with long hair holding each other by the hand.
8. A bird (? eagle) pecking the head of a large fish.

The bowl rests on a pillar[3] having a coil or knot about half-way down it, while the capital consists of the heads of four rams with horns entwined placed on a wreath of leaves. The moulded base[4] of the pillar is laid on the broad

[1] Mrs. Sarah Decima Bradney.

[2]

	ft.	in.
Diameter across the top	2	0
Diameter of the interior	1	8
Depth of interior	0	6
Depth of exterior	0	8

[3] The pillar is 1 ft. 7 in. high, having a circumference at the top of $10\frac{1}{2}$ in., and $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the bottom. The column is made to represent a double twist or knot about half-way down it.

[4] 6 in. by 6 in. by 1 in.

back of an elephant [1] with a cloth hanging over it, the ends of which nearly touch the ground on either side. This cloth is edged with an inlay similar to the mosaic border round the top of the bowl, while either side is adorned with a saint vested in a cope and placed in a niche. The left hand of each figure holds a plain, open scroll, while the right hand of one is upraised and the other carries a closed book.

The various experts that have been consulted agree in considering that the bowl dates from the early years of the twelfth century, or more probably it was made during the last quarter of the eleventh century. It is just possible that the capital with the heads of the four rams is of later date, and in that case the whole has been constructed out of different fragments. The elephant, however, is met with in Italian art of the period when the bowl was sculptured, and Mr. S. Montague Peartree reminds us that elephants like this one adorn Archbishop Urso's throne in the Duomo at Canosa (1078–89); others may be seen in the pavement at Otranto and among the architectural features of Altamura. The geometrical inlay is also in keeping with the district and the date, and we hazard the conjecture that this eleventh-century stoup now used as a font in an English church came from the Adriatic side of Southern Italy.

In a few instances Roman altars have been converted into fonts. There is one at Chollerton, another at St. John Lee, and an interesting example is found at Haydon Bridge, Northumberland, where the pagan inscription has been carefully removed with a chisel. In the church at Staunton may be seen a very primitive-looking font. It is constructed out of a large block of stone into a rough cubical shape. [2] The rim is 2 inches thick, and the bowl is about 1 foot internal depth, having the four sides bevelled so as to leave a flat bottom of 11 inches square with a drain in the centre. The four outer faces of the font have three bands carved round the

[1] 1 ft. 6 in. long by 10 in. high.

[2] 2 ft. 5 in. in height, 1 ft. 10 in. in width, and 1 ft. 11 in. in length.

Page 310.

FONT, STAUNTON.

STONE, ELMSTONE.

upper portion of them.[1] The upper and lower bands are quite plain, but the middle one is decorated with the well-known Norman pellet moulding. The adornment of the lower portion is very simple, having four lines on each face converging towards a point, but not meeting. The outer spaces between the lines are cut away, so that we have four rudely-shaped, sunken lozenges at the corners.[2]

This font is commonly designated as a Roman altar which was converted into a Christian baptismal font at some much later date. The Rev. Canon Scarth wrote a paper on the Staunton font, which was published in our *Transactions*,[3] and he endeavoured to prove that the font was probably made in Saxon times. He argued that it could never have been a Roman altar, because they were frequently 4 feet in height, while this stone was only about 2½ feet; that Roman altars were barely 1½ feet in width, while this measured nearly 2 feet; that Roman altars were frequently plain, squared shafts, having bases and capitals resembling short, stunted columns, and that the top of each had the focus usually with a round scroll on each side, forming the ornaments of the projecting capital, while the Staunton stone never possessed base and capitals. Mr. Francis Bond, however, thinks it is called a Roman altar because the Staunton font is confused with the Roman altar in the vestry at Tretire.[4]

It is quite true that the Staunton font is more cubical in shape than many Roman altars, although some are more elongated than the dimensions given by Canon Scarth, and if it were ever a Roman altar it was of very simple construction. However, it is admitted by Canon Scarth that Roman remains have been found at Staunton, and we know that Ariconium,

[1] Each band is 2 in.

[2] 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. by 1 ft. 7 in. to 1 ft. 6 in.

[3] Vol. v, p. 67; illustrated, pt. iv. It is also illustrated in H. G. Nicholls' *Forest of Dean*, p. 100.

[4] *Fonts and Font-covers*, p. 99.

a Roman station between Gleavum and Magna Castra, is not far distant. [1]

The theory that the Staunton font was originally a Roman altar does not seem altogether untenable, and it would certainly bear some resemblance to one if its present decoration were removed. It is not improbable that the men who built the Norman church at Staunton found a Roman altar, or more probably a Roman stone used in the rough as building material, [2] and after carving some decoration upon it converted it into a font for their new church. Certainly it is unlikely to have been a Saxon font, and the late Sir John Maclean reminds us that in the parish church of English Bicknor there is an abacus of a Norman capital with a band of ornament very similar to the one on the Staunton font. [3]

[1] Ariconium was the centre of several Roman roads: (1) from Gloucester to Ross; (2) to Monmouth, crossing the Wye below Goodrich. There was a short cut to the Roman road running north from Monmouth to Shrewsbury, through Kenchester, joining Weston with Kenchester, and passing by Fownhope. At various periods urns, statues, vases, fibulæ, have been discovered, and in the reign of George II pieces of bronze and many coins were unearthed.

[2] Such stones are found when excavating Roman towns, and many blocks have been unearthed at Caerwent. Mr. Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A., advances this theory as a probable solution of the problem.

[3] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. v, p. 28.

BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1909.[1]

X.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.,
Honorary Secretary for Bristol.

"All men now worship gold, all other reverence being done away."

If there is found to be any deficiency or less interest in the archæological matter in my notes for 1909, I would beg that that omission shall not be wholly laid at my door; for it must be remembered that these local notes, first contributed to another society many years ago, have appeared annually in our *Transactions* since 1900, and though there has been no actual dearth of "contributory events" at any particular juncture during that extended period, there have been occasions when nothing "active" in the archæological sense has been apparent within the boundary of the ancient city, and when no great features of interest have arisen from the districts comprised in our extended area.

Singularly, however, this has been very largely the actual state of things during 1909. In the first place we have not witnessed any big constructural operations in our midst, which always mean deep excavating—so fascinating to the antiquary, as raising "great expectations"; for the final stages of the post office extension in the very heart of the city can hardly be called great, though I shall have reason to refer to that work later on.

Neither have we as a city made any fresh streets, or widened others in the ancient area, work which nearly always brings to

[1] Read at the Bristol Evening Meeting, January 19th, 1910.

light or into prominence interesting features of early times, as, for instance, when Messrs. Fry's contemplated new factory is actively commenced in St. John Street, the question of the retention of the ancient arch—the last remnant of the Norman defences, and the oldest standing masonry in the city, except possibly the base of St. Peter's tower—must be fully considered. I have, however, with regret to describe acts of further demolition and historic losses, which it is important to record.

But building changes have been continuing in other cities and towns of England for all time, yet not more here in this ancient western city, for many years the second in importance, than in the capital itself, to which a great London daily paper referred a few days ago. Speaking of its disappearing relics, and bemoaning the loss of its Wych and Holywell Streets, its Crosby Hall for a bank, and its many other beauty spots, and now its block of "gabled houses" near the northern end of Fetter Lane, it describes how the demolition still goes on: "With such feverish haste does London destroy all evidences of its earlier self."

Can it then be true what that great Latin poet said of the people of his time, living amidst the magnificence of those ancient days: "All men now worship gold, all other reverence being done away"?[1] If so, we in Bristol must be charged with selling our heritage.

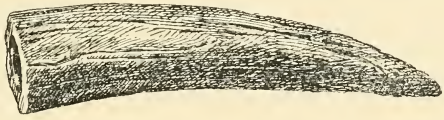
Though expectant, as usual, for traces of pre-historic occupation, the year 1909 has been wholly silent. We must therefore pass from the picture of that early life on the site of ancient Bristol—say in the late Iron Age—which I have endeavoured to bring to your notice during recent sessions, and travel down the ages to the Norman period.

During the final stages at the post office extension site

[1] "At nunc desertis cessant sacraria lucis:
Aurum omnes victa jam pietate colunt.
Auro pulsa fides; auro venalia jura;
Aurum lex sequitur, mox sine lege pudor."
Propertius, 3, 13, 48.

in Small Street, a few minor relics have turned up since my report last year. The excavations carried out during October were purely of a finishing character in connection with the basement offices at the new buildings, but there was also deep and considerable digging in the course of altering the existing basement and cellarage of the old building, for the consummation of the complete design.

As may always be expected in city excavations, a good many bones were found, which included a few human (being close to the old St. Werburgh's burial ground), and others of the early British ox, sheep and goat. The only specimen found of a bone bearing any sign of workmanship was that of a goat or sheep, which measured $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. long, and had been cut across



with a fine saw, the large end having been bored for handling probably a tool or weapon. [1]

And of considerable interest was the discovery of various *early pottery*, of which I am exhibiting some typical specimens, though mostly fragmentary. The whole of the pottery found is undoubtedly entirely domestic in character, and came from what I should call the "rubbish pits" attached to the mansions that formerly stood there; for Small Street can boast—as I pointed out in my last notes—an early possession of some of the richest burgesses' houses of our city, and the large and substantially built cellars, destroyed during the work spoken of, amply confirmed that statement.

The deposits were, of course, found at different levels, some of the specimens being turned up only a few feet below the surface, whilst the early types were discovered at depths of from twelve to fifteen feet.

[1] This is doubtless of an earlier period than the Norman era.

The POTTERY may be described as follows :—

Two fragments of rough-grey pottery rims, probably of bowls. *Norman* period.

Six fragments of black pottery rims of dishes and basins, all differing. *Norman* period.

Eighteen fragments of various rims belonging to seventeen different vessels, dishes or bowls, used for drinking and cooking purposes ; all unglazed, and grey and reddish-grey in colour. Some of these vessels had wavy ornamentations, others had plain incised lines, and some were quite plain. All probably of *Norman* period.

A fragment of a large black pottery vessel, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter at top, possibly about 7 in. deep. This is unglazed, except the top surface of rim, which only shows slight signs. *Norman* period. (See plate.)

A fragment of a small black pottery vase or bowl, unglazed, 6 in. across top, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. at base, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. *Norman* period. (See plate.)

Three fragments of pitcher handles, with only slight vestiges of glaze. Two of slashed pattern, and one with plain V moulding. Probably thirteenth century.

Six fragments of pitcher handles :

Three with impressed double chevrons forming lozenges, one with herring-bone ornament, and two plain. Thirteenth to fourteenth century.

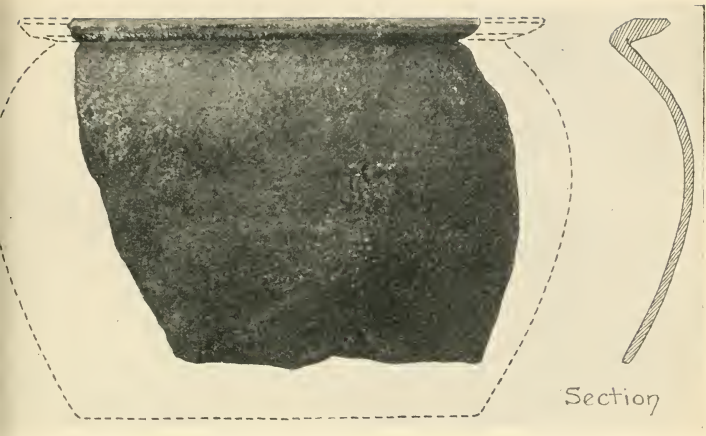
Seven fragments of pitcher handles, green glazed, all differing. Fourteenth to sixteenth century.

The top portion of an unglazed water-pitcher, retaining a portion of the handle. This measures 7 in. in diameter at top. Probably twelfth century.

A fragment of a water-pitcher :

Body ornamented with incised lines, handle perfect, having twenty slashed indentations feather-wise. This is slightly glazed. Probably thirteenth century.

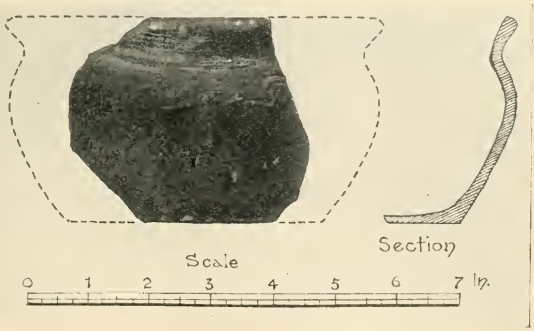
Another fragment of a similar pitcher :



FRAGMENT OF BLACK POTTERY VESSEL.

$8\frac{3}{4}$ INS. DIAM. NORMAN PERIOD.

FROM POST OFFICE EXTENSION SITE, SMALL STREET, 1909.



Page 316.

FRAGMENT OF VASE OR BOWL.

6 INS. DIAM. NORMAN PERIOD.

FROM POST OFFICE EXTENSION SITE, SMALL STREET, 1909.

This handle has forty-four irregular digs by way of ornamentations, also slightly glazed. Probably thirteenth century.

A small side loop of an unglazed water-vessel, bearing three stamped ornamentations. Probably thirteenth century.

A large fragment of a yellow glazed jug, 7 in. high, showing a perfect handle attached, moulded rim, and two slight grooves round front part of body; glazed inside. Probably fourteenth century. (See plate.)

A green glazed globular-shaped vessel, in almost perfect condition, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter at top; handle broken. Three wheel marks round body, and two under the moulded rim. Unglazed inside, but slight traces on inside of rim. Probably fourteenth century. (See plate.)

A fragment of a glazed red pottery vessel, probably a colander, having sloping sides, with wavy ornamentations on a flange, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide. Original dimensions, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. across by 4 in. deep. Probably fifteenth century.

Three fragments of another red pottery vessel, covered with wavy and plain incised lines outside and inside, the outside divided by vertical strap-work ornamentations. The half-round moulded rim has a flat top edge ornamented with four incised wavy lines. This was doubtless a cooking vessel. Probably fourteenth century.

A reddish-brown portion of rim of a heavy vessel, probably the top of a water-jug, $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter at top, bearing cog-wheel ornamentation. Probably fourteenth century.

In addition, a large number of less important fragments of mediæval pottery were turned up on the same site.

It must be admitted that most of this fragmentary mediæval pottery is only of passing interest—possibly merely of archaic

interest, appealing only to the very few—but as so little is known of the utensils of that period a more thorough study is desirable.

Every fragment of Norman and early mediæval pottery should be illustrated, the late General Pitt-Rivers urged upon me when I last saw him, and this is exactly what he carried out himself in his privately-printed volumes.[1]

The following were also found on the same site :—

An interesting fragment of a blue and white *Dutch Delft Posset Pot.* This specimen is unusually thin, and possesses a very fine quality glaze, with a delightfully

interesting twist handle. The decoration is composed of flowers and fruit, the colouring being of a choice Oriental blue. Date about 1700, the pot measuring about 5½ or 6 in. in height, and 5 in. in diameter.

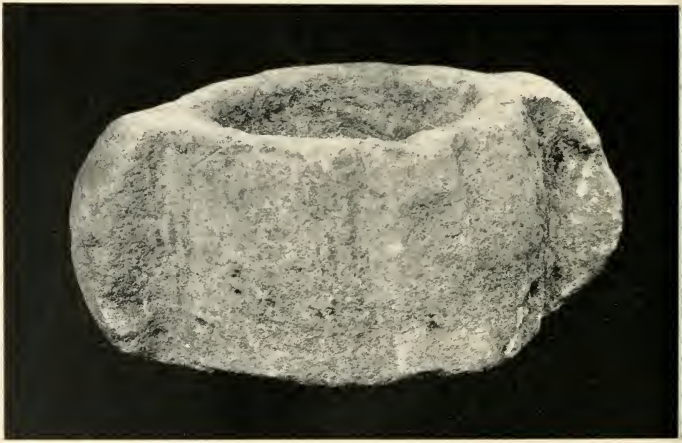
A small fragment of a *Delft tea cup*, of blue and white decoration, in fine quality glaze. Probably of Bristol make.

A few Bristol clay *tobacco pipes* with small bowls, including those stamped "I. H.," probably Iohn Hunt,

[1] Excavations in Cranborne Chase, Bokerly Dyke and Wansdyke, 1887—1898, and King John's House, 1890.

MEDIÆVAL POTTERY.

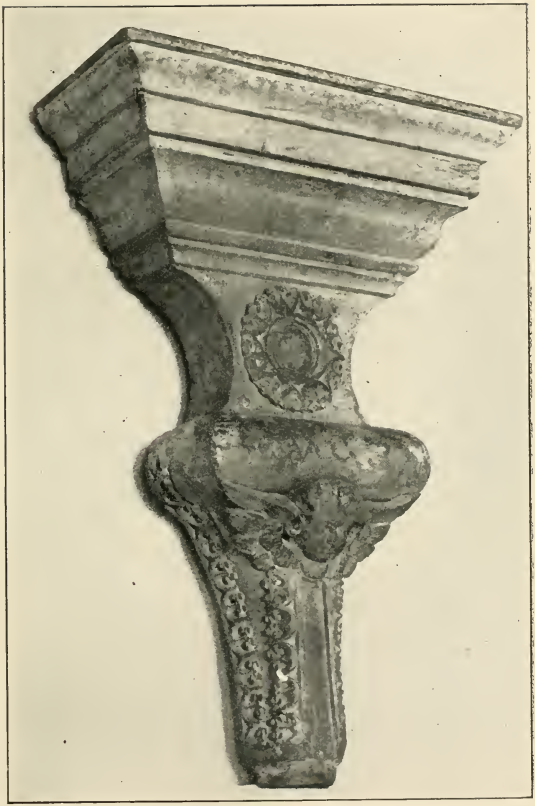
DISCOVERED IN SMALL STREET, 1909.



Page 319.

MEDIÆVAL STONE MORTAR.

FOUND ON POST OFFICE EXTENSION SITE, 1909.



Page 320

EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LEAD RAIN-WATER HEAD.

FROM MARLBOROUGH STREET, 1909.

freeman of the city, 1651; and "E.L.," Edward Lewis, freeman 1678.

Then in October, when excavations were being made at a depth of nearly fourteen feet below the level of the haulingway, a roughly-shaped *stone mortar* was found.[1] This is a good typical specimen, which was most assuredly in use in one of the houses hereabouts, probably in Norman times. According to the regulations of the Board of Trade, this specimen was required to be exhibited in London. By the courtesy of Mr. Tozer (Clerk of Works), I was permitted to report this find, and on behalf of this Society claimed it for the city collection. In due course I received this reply from Mr. F. A. Huntley of H.M. Office of Works, Bristol:—

> "I am directed to inform you that the Postmaster-General agrees that the Bristol City Museum would be an appropriate place in which to deposit the 'mortar' recently discovered in the course of excavations on the site of the Bristol Head P.O. extension, and he readily concurs in the suggestion that the request of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society should be agreed to. The Board, therefore, have much pleasure in making the gift to the Society on behalf of the Postmaster-General."

I returned thanks for this gift, and after you have examined it to-night it will be handed over to the Museum Committee.[2]

Taken as a whole, with the finds recorded last year, I think that old Small Street can claim to have very generously contributed a fair share of relics of the past.

[1] The dimensions are as follows:—

9 in. diameter across.
6½ in. diameter inside.
14 in. across over wings.
6¼ in. deep. (See plate.)

[2] Officially acknowledged 10th February, 1910.

Certain building operations have been in progress since March last, quite near to the site last mentioned, at the corner of Corn Street and Exchange West, and singularly on the site of the earlier Post Office, erected by the Corporation in 1746. But beyond a few bones belonging to the deer, the goat, and probably the domestic boar, and also a large circular stone—of the mill-stone type—nothing of interest was discovered in the excavations, the red sandstone in places being found only a few feet below the street level.

In my notes of 1907 I specially referred to the old lead work to be found in our city—in connection with the gift of a fine rain-water head from Temple Parish to the Architectural Court.

In that recently-issued important work on English lead work by Mr. Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., which, by the way, depicts our well-known figure of Neptune as one of the finest examples in the country, the author says that "lead rain-water heads" are practically peculiar to England. It is therefore satisfactory to record the recent acquisition of another unknown *lead head* of exceptionally artistic design which has been secured for the city collection. This specimen of the early Georgian period (*circa* 1720) was taken from one of the old brick houses, demolished in June last, on the site opposite the Royal Infirmary, between Marlborough Street and Eugene Street. (See plate.)

The beautifully-moulded cherub's head—specially poised for the great height where fixed—first attracts one's attention; and the circular ornament applied to the neck of the receiver just above the head, together with the well-defined cornice mouldings, altogether make a truly pleasing work of art.

This fine specimen measures 2 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 9½ in. wide by 8 in. deep; but nowadays a similar requirement would be supplied by a plain semicircular cast-iron snowbox, in value only a few shillings.

May I say once again that unless such relics are instantly

secured they are gone for ever. Throughout past years many similar objects have disappeared from the city that we would now gladly repurchase.

A few months ago I received a newspaper cutting about old Bristol, from Mr. Hubert Hunt, through our member Mr. Simpson, taken from a New York paper, and as this appears to cast a slur upon our city I wish to refer to the matter in detail. This illustrated and described what the American visitor was pleased to call a fine example of a Jacobean carved-oak mantel from Mansion House, Bristol, England.

The American journalist informed us that "among art objects of unusual interest collected in the Charles Galleries, at Fifth Avenue and Twenty-eighth Street, is a large mantel from the old Mansion House in Bristol, England. In 1833[1] this building was partly destroyed by fire. A portion of the banquet-hall in which the mantel stood was saved, and this remarkable example of early English wood carving was among the objects untouched by the flames. Presumably in the adjustment of insurance accounts it passed into the possession of the mayor, from whose descendants the Charles Galleries purchased it.

"This mantel is nearly ten and a half feet in height, with a width of nearly nine feet. It is carved English oak, which from its age has acquired a beautiful grey tone. It dates from the period of James I, early in the seventeenth century, and has carved figures of James I and Queen Anne, and the royal coat of arms. Two caryatides, male and female, are mediæval in character. The frieze is in a grape-vine pattern familiar to collectors.

"While the technique is of the Jacobean period, there are many traces of Elizabethan influence in some of the details."

I must at once admit that, unfortunately for the good

[1] Really 1831.

character of Bristol, a part of the story is true, though many of the details have been "Americanised."

This very fine mantel was exhibited in the loan collection of the 1893 Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition at Bristol by the late Mr. H. A. Forse of this city, and I well remember seeing it there. It was described in the catalogue as follows :—

> "Antique Carved Oak Overmantel, removed from the Mansion House, Queen Square, during the Bristol Riots, 1831. Carved in the year 1610. £200."

Now Mr. Forse's statement that this carving was removed from the Mansion House, Queen Square, during the Bristol Riots in 1831, could only have been based on "hearsay evidence," for the Mansion House established in Queen Square, formerly the house of Mr. James Harford, was only purchased by the Corporation in 1781.

As most of the houses in Queen Square were erected about 1700, it is hardly likely that a mantel of the period of James I would have been inserted in any of those buildings; the Stuart monarch had never visited our city, and there was no civic reason for such display.

I have in my possession a letter from Mr. Forse, dated 1900, which corroborates the main facts (which I also had from him personally at the time), that he had purchased this woodwork from a Clifton lady, who had it from her father, with, of course, the "alleged" Mansion House story. Though he paid only £40 for it, he sold it to a London firm—after holding it some eight or nine years—in February, 1898, for £200. When this mantel[1] left Bristol its dimensions were 8 ft. 6 in. wide by 5 ft. 6 in. high; but carved columns have been added since the mantel left our midst—probably either in London or New York—and it has been stilted to a height of 10 ft. 6 in.

Of course, as an example of superb and most delicate

[1] I have deposited a photograph of this in the Museum collection.

carving, this mantel is of considerable interest; but whether it had actually been associated with a civic building, or had adorned a merchant's house, or had even belonged to this city at all, was never ascertained, though the late owner took endless pains to find out.

The American reference to Charles Pinney, mayor of the city, of riot fame, is amusing; for if true, the loss of a civic mantel would have been simply appalling, and have added just one more charge against that unfortunate personality.

When the "Old Bank" recently crossed the road—I mean, of course, Clare Street—and set up its new home on the south side of that thoroughfare, it vacated, besides the banking premises, an adjoining property—an old, red brick-built house of the Georgian period, possessing a distinctly plain interior, which we have gazed upon unaltered for many years.

It was the last messuage that was actually used for private purposes in the street. But how very few can remember the house which faced it, that stood on the site of the present palatial pile just referred to; for that house was pulled down in 1865 for the erection of the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance offices, now the glory of the Old Bank, after stupendous alterations.

There appear to be no pictorial records of the street architecture of those early days, such as I understand the London County Council is undertaking section by section nowadays, or what a wealth of elevations of interesting Stuart houses we should have to work from.

But fortunately we possess an interior view of the "guest room" of that demolished mansion—"drawn from nature and on stone" by John Skinner Prout about the year 1834.

The plate is No. 15 in Prout's *Picturesque Antiquities of Bristol*, from which at all events we get a reasonable insight into the dwelling itself, and we are safe in assuming that the proud owner of such a room would complete his residence on the same scale.

From 1818 to the date of demolition this delightful apartment had been the home of the "Law Library," which after a short interregnum at No. 30 Broad Street, was then transferred to its present abode amidst the remains of the Norman house in Small Street.

Soon after the demolition of the old house in 1865 the fitments of the entire room were purchased by an alderman of the city, who had them removed and reconstructed in the dining-room of his residence. When he retired from city life the mantelpiece and panelling of that room followed him to his new home, and were fitted in the billiard-room there.

Soon after his death his representatives arranged to sell that portion of old Bristol which Bristol wealth had enabled an alderman of the city to take away, as of course they had a right to do.

These interesting interior fitments were first submitted to the State, but the authorities at South Kensington failed to give a prompt and responsive reply. They were next offered to the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, though I am informed at such a figure that a purchase was wholly out of the question.

We know too well that delays are often dangerous—in archæological matters always so—here was no exception. Neither London nor Bristol gained the prize, for the fitments were sold to a friend,[1] and they are now erected in his Cornish mansion.[2]

As regards the mantelpiece, of course the most important feature is that it bears traces of its builder, for in Prout's early drawing we have the initials "*H.B.*" on the frieze; and the "sinister" shield in the overmantel carries the Arms of the Merchant Venturers, which mark the owner as a member of that Guild.

[1] It is understood at a considerably less figure than was named to the city.

[2] The mantelpiece is now owned by Mr. W. W. Ward, of Bosloe, near Falmouth; a past-master of the Merchant Venturers and a freeman of Bristol.

By a singular coincidence, however, the "dexter" shield is shown *blank*, which is difficult to understand, as the fireplace has for many years past borne the "private arms" which the present owner says are now blazoned as follows :—[1]

"Argent on a bend engrailed sable three eagles displayed or : the crest, a demi-eagle displayed sable rising from a mural crown or." This tincturing is modern.

Our member Mr. Were has drawn my attention to a monument at Winterbourne Church (which I have since examined) containing Hugh Browne's arms, and these are identical with those on the chimney-piece. The inscription on this tomb is given by Rudder,[2] and it indicates the burial of a Hugh Browne, of Winterbourne Court, who died in 1691, aged 47, who was evidently a son of the owner of the mansion in Clare Street.

I think it can therefore be accepted without doubt that Hugh Browne, a wealthy merchant of Bristol, was the builder. He was Sheriff in 1642, was Mayor in 1650, and Master of the Merchant Venturers on four occasions—1646, 1649, 1651 and 1652. Though there is not much known about this rich burgher, it is evident he was a man of much importance, for Barrett tells us that he sat on Fiennes's committee for levying taxes during the Civil War, which meant heavy payments from himself, as well as others; and he appears to have contributed largely in other ways to the claims of the city. A full-length portrait of him hangs in the Merchants' Hall.

This carved stone mantelpiece is Elizabethan in style, but probably of Jacobean workmanship. It is decidedly handsome—though not too ornate—and the central oval panel, representing "Justice," is unusually beautiful in design. The caryatides—which support the mantel and the shelf—are

[1] It is evident that the arms were a later addition.

[2] Rudder (Samuel), *New History of Gloucestershire*, 1779, p. 836. This historian's description of the coat, however, is slightly incorrect, for the monument shows the "engrailed bend," which is also on the chimney-piece.

also most effective, the whole design being, without doubt, the work of a Bristol artist.

The oak panelling, which looks so stately in Prout's old drawing, is of the usual style of the Jacobean period of the house.

An announcement in *Country Life* a few months ago by a London dealer of antiques, having a reference to this city, must have startled those who read it ; for after speaking of his " rare and beautiful objects, fit for a museum," he deliberately held up to our gaze an excellent illustration of a " wonderful mantelpiece in carved stone, of the Tudor period, which was recently discovered in a very old house in Bristol, covered with layers of dirty paint." And this expert went still further by giving another view in the same issue picturing a " finely-carved old Elizabethan stone mantel," also from Bristol.[1]

It is only necessary for me to say that both these *chimney-pieces* came from one of the *old houses* on the Broad Quay (No. 8).[2] They had been standing there since their erection nearly two and a half centuries ago, in two rooms on the first floor over the shop, and for some years these rooms had been used for enlistment purposes for the War Office ; but for many years now the entire property has been occupied by the owner.[3]

The *larger example*, which was removed from the front room overlooking the water, is of the Jacobean period, carved in high relief, and quite an exceptional example of the seventeenth century. The proportions are excellent, the height 8 ft. 6 in., and the width of cornice and shelf about 7 ft. 4 in., with an opening of 5 ft. 4 in. by 4 ft. 7½ in. The

[1] See *Country Life*, October 2nd, 1909.

[2] I wish specially to thank Mr. Charles, of Brook Street, W., for much courtesy in this matter, and the kind loan of his splendid photographs of these Bristol relics; also the use of his blocks. I am informed that these chimney-pieces have now gone to America !

[3] This old mansion is now the property of Mr. W. H. Hawkes, to whom I am indebted for the perusal of a number of later legal documents and other information.

Page 326.

Front room.

Back room.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CARVED STONE CHIMNEY-PIECES.

REMOVED FROM NO. 8 BROAD QUAY (TOWN HOUSE OF THE "CANN" FAMILY), 1900.

panels of the double frieze over the opening of the fireplace are ornamented by inlays of various coloured marbles in diamonds and oblongs, set in strap-work design, divided by carved brackets supporting the shelf. The overmantel, which is perhaps too massive in style for the under part, is also divided into panels, with figure brackets supporting a heavy moulded cornice, the central space containing a quaintly carved group, probably intended for the "Sacrifice of Isaac." The shields of arms on either side bring us to the interesting point of our inquiry as to whose "guest room" possessed this handsome fitment.

When ancient documents are wanting—and in this case the early deeds were not forthcoming—heraldry tells the story, and here we get our clue from the two shields in the panels before us.

On the dexter side the arms may be read as follows: "Azure fretty argent on a fess gules, three leopards' faces or: crest in a mural crown, gules, a plume of six feathers argent and azure."

They are those of Sir Robert Cann, of Compton Greenfield, a merchant of Bristol and of great wealth, who figured prominently in all civic matters of his time. He was Mayor in 1662 and 1675, and represented the city in Parliament in 1678. Cann was knighted by Charles II in 1662, and advanced to a baronetcy the same year. The sinister shield bears the arms of the Merchant Venturers, a right of use being apparently granted to members of that Guild. And was not Robert Cann Warden in 1650 and Master in 1658?

Evidently he was the man of his day.

It will be noticed that the date 1670 was carved on one of the brackets dividing the frieze, which was no doubt the date of the armorial bearings, even if the chimney-piece may be considered slightly earlier.

The *second specimen* was fitted in the small room on the same floor, at the back looking towards Marsh Street. This was also 8 ft. 6 in. high, and just over 7 ft. wide.

The frieze panels show interesting Renaissance carving, but the whole example has suffered much from careless treatment and neglect in days gone by, so that its entire character is not realised at first sight.

Surmounting the fireplace, with its heavy end-brackets, we have here also an interesting mantel bearing the arms of the aristocratic Cann on the left, and on the right those of the Merchant Venturers, whilst the central shield bears the city arms, evidently intended to mark his first mayoralty.

The initials "R.C." and the date "1670" are carved on small ornaments in the centre of the frieze.

As this wealthy burgher possessed lands in Gloucestershire, so near the city as Compton, and also it is believed that he built that fine Jacobean mansion known as Stoke Bishop House,[1] we can only assume that this proportionately small dwelling on the Quay formed his town house.

Sir Robert Cann is described by John Latimer as "a pompous personage, fond of parading his riches," and this phrase, I think, exactly explains such a vulgar display of arms as now described to you.

There is much to be learnt of this citizen in the records of the time, but the outstanding event in his career was his wrangle for precedence (not unknown in these days in Bristol) in the years 1663 and 1664. Sir Robert Cann died about 1685.

Finally, I am happy in reporting that the two quaintly-carved stone *chimney-pieces*, described on previous occasions,[2] which were removed from the County Court Offices for reasons before explained, were re-erected during the past summer in the postmaster's and the chief clerk's rooms in the new building of the General Post Office, as promised by the first Commissioner of His Majesty's Works.

I should like to say that very great care was taken in removing the old paint from the carved stone work. It was

[1] About 1669.

[2] See *Transactions*, vol. xxx, p. 163; xxxi, p. 301.

done by a process of "pickling," and I am once more under an obligation to Mr. Tozer (Clerk of the Works) for much kind help, and for permission to watch this proceeding; also for the recipe in dealing with old work of this character, which is as follows: Take a pint of *lye*, and mix in ten gallons of water with 28 lbs. of stone lime. Boil well, when all old paint peels off. Then afterwards boil in plain soda to thoroughly cleanse from any grease that may accrue.

It is to be hoped that in future similar care may be shown, and a like method followed, with any specimens that reach the Art Gallery, for heretofore a Bristol method of "scraping" seems to have been adopted.

A *Georgian house* despoiled almost wholly of its characteristic interior—practically destined to be swept away a few months ago—can have little attraction to an antiquary; yet such a house still stands on the west side of York Street, in the parish of St. Paul's, that is to say in the short thoroughfare leading from Brunswick Square to Wilder Street.

As a matter of fact, this house, described in legal documents as the "old Queen Anne Residence," was advertised for sale by public anction in March last amongst a group of other properties.

It is curious how such a name attached itself to a building that could not have been erected before the end of the eighteenth century, and whose architecture cannot claim a trace of the "Queen Anne" style. On the contrary, the house exhibits an unusually plain exterior in very dilapidated state.

Rocque's plan of 1742 shows that the site was not built over then, and there is ample evidence to assume that as Cumberland Street was not projected until 1760, York Street could not have been made until later, whilst Donne's plan of 1773 only indicates this spot as partly cut for building at that time.

All I wish to say about the house refers to its interior,

which, though utterly despoilt, still shows traces of Georgian mouldings in stone and wood. The old staircase still exists, an example severely plain but effective. On the contrary, however, was the north room with its large bow-window. This originally must have been an attractive compartment, if we may judge by its proportions, and the delicately-moulded ceiilng which largely remains. There are very few such examples of old plaster work in Bristol, and as the house has a new tenant, it is satisfactory to learn that what is now left will be preserved for the present.

At the rear of this room there was an interesting recess fitted with delft tiles and niches (recently destroyed), and close to the kitchen were remains of a large "brew house," so that the residence must have been of some importance.

And now I wish to describe a hitherto unknown *seventeenth-century plan* of "*The Famous Citie of Bristoll*," of which I am exhibiting a full-size reproduction.

We have our large Millerd of 1673, and our famous Rocque of 1742, but I consider this hitherto "hidden" plan, which measures 1 ft. $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide by 1 ft. 5 in. deep, is probably more interesting than either of these; for this picture of the city contains valuable and curious data not previously known. (See reduced plan.)

It was whilst searching for other matter at the British Museum a year ago (with courteous help from Mr. Soulsby) that I alighted upon this fascinating print.

It appeared to be a "proof" from a copper plate, for during the time that has elapsed since it was struck—nearly two and a half centuries since—I had not seen another copy, and the city collection did not comprise one.

My impression is that this plan is the work of Jacobus Millerd, who presented us with that larger one bordered with views in 1673, for both bear the initials "I. M."

It must be remembered that prior to that work no such measured and detailed plan of Bristol had ever been projected,

so I think that Millerd must have felt that in order to carry out such a scheme satisfactorily in connection with so intricate a city a "trial" plan was necessary.

This seems to be confirmed by the fact that all the details are not filled in, and the drawing is not nearly so finished as in the later plan.

The inscription is worded similarly, except that "Citie" is used in this case instead of "Citty."

The royal arms, as used under the Stuarts, placed at the top left-hand corner, are the same on each; and each plan has the arms of Bristol on the right, though in this case the earlier grant was used on a plain shield. Here on the left we notice, as on the large plan, the arms of the See, whilst an additional shield, bearing "fleur-de-lis" with an earl's coronet, appears at the top corner on the right side of this one, an interesting additional feature.

Though 1673 is known as the date of the great plan of the city, presented to the Council in that year by Jacobus Millerd, silk mercer, for which he was thanked and handsomely rewarded, no copy of a plan of this actual date exists; but through the Braikenridge bequest we fortunately became possessed of a copy, with certain additions, which I will call the "second" issue. This impression shows the "Corn-Market" on the Quay, with the date 1684 engraved beneath the building, indicating the time of its erection and giving a date to the re-issue of the plan.

As the small, unknown plan, therefore, has no such building inserted, we know that it was prepared prior to that date, and, on the other hand, it must have been after 1669, the year Queen Street (now Christmas Steps) was repaired, which is clearly shown.

On the left side it is stated that the plan is "Printed Coloured and Sold by Robt. Walton," and in the original are to be seen two faint double lines following the name, intended for the address, which had never been added.

This Robert Walton was a well-known publisher of plans

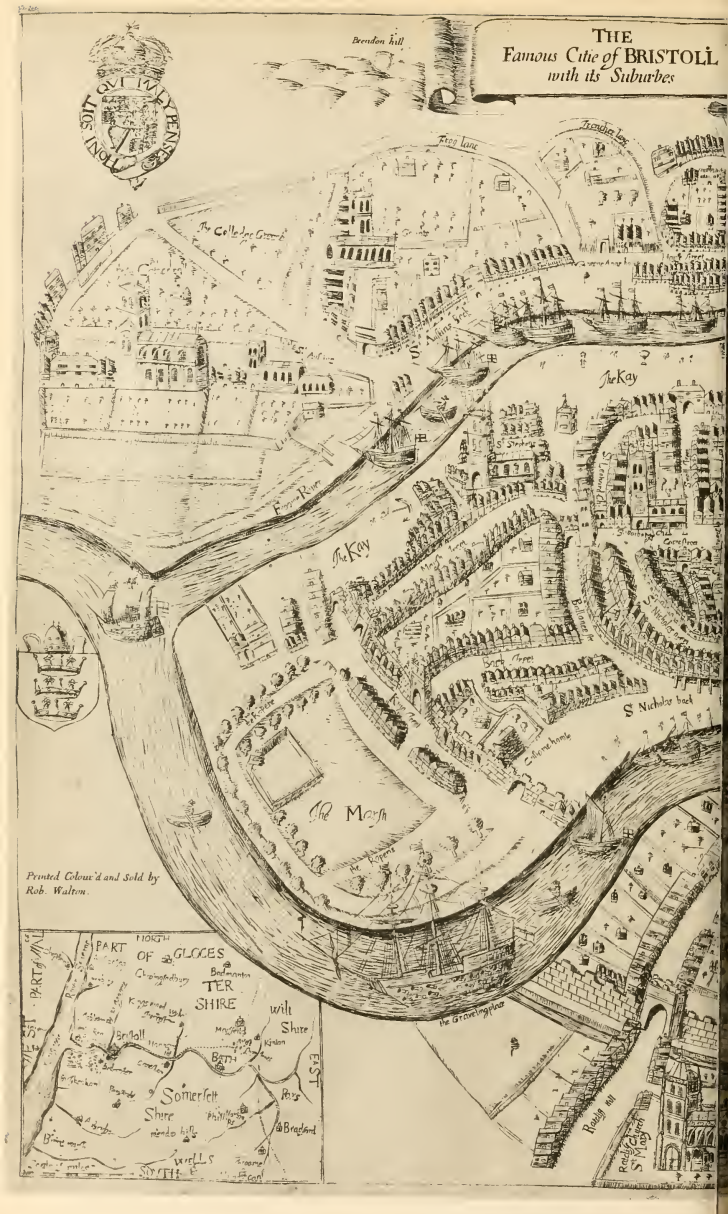
and maps in London, between 1655 and 1690, at one time dating from the "Globe and Compasses, on the North side of St. Paul's," and at another at "The Dial Little Brittain, N. of Newgate Street."

Now since I made my notes on this "unknown Millerd" it is interesting to find that the Braikenridge portfolio has brought forth a copy which had certainly been buried for a century, a similar impression to the one in the British Museum; and as far as I know these two are the only ones extant. This copy bears a pencil note—evidently by Mr. George Weare Braikenridge, the original collector of these in the early decades of last century—giving the date as 1671 to 1673, an approximate date which is doubtless correct, and fully confirms my conjecture.

The paramount interest attaching to this plan is the fact that it is the *earliest* of the city in the seventeenth century. It is a very powerful work, and not altogether correct, I admit; but, like an artist's sketch, it contains many points not in the finished work of considerable importance.

It is some fourteen years prior to the earliest copy that we possess of the large Millerd, and amongst the special items of interest portrayed with such spirit are the following:— The position of the OLD CUSTOM HOUSE. The WINDMILL at COTHAM, drawn to an abnormal size, out of all proportion to the scale of the plan given in perches at the foot. The way to HOOKES MILL. QUEENE ANNE HOWSE, so called for a while after the Consort of James I stayed there in 1613. ST. EDITH'S WELL, with its castellette, styled "the Pump." The SHIPPING, which includes a frigate carrying many guns. ST. PHILLIPS STREET, now called Old Market Street. ST. THOMAS'S STREET, with the covering of the Pipe, and the Tolsey for the Cattle Market at the east end of the church. TEMPLE STREET, with the covering of the Pipe, and Stallenge Cross.

I have thus strung together these few notes relating to the various subjects that have come within our range of study during 1909.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A TRIAL PLA

…OL, BY JACOBUS MILLERD, CIRCA 1670.

A good deal of the interest attached to our houses is of course associated with the men who lived in them, and who built up the city's fame.

These instances, then, of the recent loss of valuable relics affecting our history should make us determined that henceforth the golden thread of "possession" shall not be broken by the stranger within the gate—waiting with Aladdin's lamp—for, amid all changes of government, these rare and beautiful objects of antiquity must ever remind us of the men and events inseparably connected with the famous "citie of bristoll."

Notices of Publications.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST. By CHARLES OMAN, M.A., All Souls College, Oxford, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, Fellow of the British Academy, and President of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society. London: Methuen & Co. 1910. 10s. 6d.

THIS is the first part of a history of England in seven volumes, each volume being written by one who is engaged in teaching either at Oxford or Cambridge, and it will be well if the other volumes come up to the standard set by the editor in the first of the series. To write a full and well-balanced history of a thousand years of such varied conditions as are included in the period covered by the book is no light task: on the one hand, nothing of real importance should be passed by, and yet there can be little space for mere local detail or for picturesque illustration. The writer must tell his own story, and must tell it clearly and directly. Mr. Oman has been fortunate in his helpers, for however well equipped an author might be, the materials which have been collected in recent years have been so great in amount and so varied in character, that a single writer could hardly do justice to them all. But with the help of Professor Haverfield with regard to Roman Britain, Mr. Turner, of Magdalen, with regard to Early Christianity, and others who have made a special study of different periods of the history, it may be taken that the story is not only as far as possible complete, but also that it is fairly and accurately told. The writer himself brings to his work a full knowledge of two subjects which run through the whole period—the science and art of the warfare of the times, and the history of the coinage of the different peoples. It may be said at once that so full and compact a history of the period has not yet been published; but if it were asked that special mention should be made of points on which new light is thrown, the treatment of the period between the departure of the Roman legions and the final settlement of the Anglo-Saxon tribes, and also the treatment of the various invasions of the Danes and Northmen, might be given as instances. In the latter case especially the way in which the movements of the invaders with regard

to Ireland and the continent are interwoven with the story as given by native chroniclers is particularly helpful.

To pass to points which more closely concern our own neighbourhood, Mr. Oman treats the Fosse as an early Celtic trackway. But it seems to be clear that it is not so much a continuous road as a series of links. It does not start from Lincoln, but from Bracebridge, a few miles south of that city, on the Erming Street; it does not cut directly across Watling Street, but it leaves that street fifty yards west of the point at which it meets it from the north; it does not enter Cirencester directly, but joins the Akeman Street at a little distance to the east of that town, and it leaves that street near Jackment's bottom, some four miles to the west of the town; while finally it does not enter Bath, but joins the road from Speen, a little distance to the east of the city.[1] It is obviously later than the other roads mentioned, and it seems likely that it was made by the Romans; but in that case the milestone found near Leicester would show that it was already in existence by the year 120. It is suggested that towards the end of the Roman occupation the troops had been withdrawn from south-western Britain, and that the Roman government had left the charge of the district to the local authorities to organise their own defence. It is certainly remarkable that Henry of Huntingdon, writing of the battle of Wodnesbeorg in 591, represents the Britons as still fighting in Roman battle array,[2] and it is also certain that in south-western Britain the resistance to Saxon invasions was stern and long. The West-Saxons are represented as landing in Southampton Water in 495, yet they could not capture Old Sarum, some twenty miles away, till 552, though they would certainly have wished to obtain possession of so strong a fortress as soon as possible. Ceawlin is brought to Dyrham along the road from Silchester to Bath; but there is a good deal to be said for the theory put forth by the Bishop of Bristol at Dyrham Camp that he advanced along Akeman Street and captured Cirencester, and then marched south along the Fosse to capture Bath. Ceawlin had conquered the region traversed by Akeman Street in 571. That street runs through open country, while the forest district below the Chalk Hills east of Bath might well be a dangerous one for an invading army to enter. With regard to the Huiccians, they were certainly West Saxon, as the speech of Cotswold is to this day unless the Board of Education has destroyed it in the last twenty years, and they probably came under the power of the Mercians after the treaty of Cirencester in 628. As they were alien in race from the Mercians, at any rate from the early days of Wulphere, they were ruled by viceroys of Northumbrian stock

[1] Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 248, ed. 1903.
[2] M.H.B. 714 c.

(one of whom, Osric, probably reigned over the Northumbrians from 718 to 729) for about a century. It may be presumed that they were well governed, for they do not seem to have made any attempts to rejoin the realm of their West-Saxon kinsmen.

There is an admirable account of the social order of the Anglo-Saxon invaders. It is pointed out that they were clearly not merely a succession of war bands, but rather, at any rate when the time for settlement had come, they were drawn from particular tribes and families who retained their original relations one to another in the land of their adoption. This must clearly have been so with the Angles, for Bede tells us that the land from which they came was still without inhabitant in his day, and from the testimony of the early laws it must have been so also with the other invaders. The later war bands of the Northmen altered the place-names of the districts where they settled, but they did not alter the language permanently. The earlier tribal Anglo-settlements meant the transplanting of the whole or a part of a nation or a tribe, and those who came lived the old life and talked the old tongue to a great extent, and called the lands by the old names of the place of their origin. They brought their wives with them, or there would have been a much larger Welsh element in the English language than there has ever been. It is pointed out that the Witena-gemot was rather an assembly of notables summoned by the king than a house of hereditary peers; it resembled rather the Privy Council than the House of Lords of to-day. It may be doubted whether any single person had a right to attend a gemot apart from the will of the king. Sometimes we find that a whole class of persons whose presence had been accustomed is absent. There is not a single signature of an abbot to a charter between 933 and 946, though before and after that period such signatures were common.[1] It would seem that monasticism had fallen into so low a state that abbots were no longer counted worthy to be reckoned among the Witan. There is nothing to show that the Witan were, or considered themselves to be, representatives of the great body of the people; rather they were an assembly of notables like that which proclaimed King George V: "We, Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with those of his late Majesty's Privy Council, with numbers of other Principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London, do now with one voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart publish and proclaim," etc. The Commons of England had nothing to do with that proclamation except listen to it, and though their representative house vaunts itself and is puffed up from time to time, it has had nothing to do with the

[1] *Proceedings*, xviii, 110.

choice of any sovereign of the English since it took one-third part in the passing of the Act of Settlement two centuries ago.

There is a good discussion of the origin of the Hide, the Hundred, and the Shire. The hide seems to have been an unit of holding which, in many cases at any rate, remained unaltered from the earliest period at which it can be traced until the date of Domesday Book, and it was originally the holding of a single family. In fact the hides seem to be the holdings of the original settlers. In our own shire, for instance, the hides lie most closely together, and their area is least in the Hundreds of Celfled by the Warwickshire Avon, and Gersdone by the Churn and Ampney Brook, and near to Tewkesbury by the Avon and Severn, and Cirencester by the Churn. The first settlers would crowd to the good land by the rivers, and less of that good land would be needed to support a family. The hides are largest—*i.e.* the original settlements are most scattered—in the forest hundreds of the shire—those which lay between Bristol and Berkeley and by the Forest of Dean. In Domesday Book, of course, the hide appears as an unit of rating, as it does also in the entry in the Chronicles for 1008; but no mention of the hide as an unit of rating will be found before the reign of Ethelred the Unready, when it seems to have been taken as the unit of taxation for the raising of Danegeld, as the parish was taken as the unit of the incidence of land-tax in later times.

With regard to the hundred, there seems to be no evidence of its existence as a territorial area, or an administrative district, either in histories, laws, charters or glossaries before the reign of King Edgar. It may have existed, but there is no written evidence that it did so. But with regard to Gloucestershire, at any rate, we may say with some certainty that one of the Domesday hundreds—that of Deerhurst—must go back as far as the reign of that king. This hundred contains estates which had belonged to the ancient Church of Deerhurst, and it contains no others. But immediately after the death of Edgar the Deerhurst estates were scattered, and they never again came under a single owner.[1] We cannot think of any time after 975 when the Domesday Hundred of Deerhurst could have been constituted; it probably came into being in 969, when Deerhurst Church became a Benedictine minster.

With regard to the shires, it is certain that all those south of the Thames already existed as realms under king, ealdorman or bishop by the time of King Alfred. On the other hand, no Mercian shire is mentioned in any contemporary document before A.D. 1000. It is true that the Abingdon Chronicle relates that *Lcgeceastrescir*

[1] *The Benedictine Revival in the Huiccian Monasteries*, xviii, 128.
[2] *Deerhurst, Pershore and Westminster*, xxv, 233–236.

(Cheshire) was ravaged by a fleet of Northmen in 980, but that Chronicle was not written until the middle of the eleventh century. Since, however, no fewer than thirteen of the Mercian shires are mentioned in the Chronicles, which give at that time a strictly contemporary record, before 1020, we may conclude with some certainty that the Mercian shires were the creation of Eadric Streon about 1008.[1] Furthermore, as they are clearly artificial districts containing groups of hides in multiples of 1,200, we may also conclude that they were formed to facilitate the carrying into effect of the scheme of national defence devised at that time. We know little about the principles on which the shire-towns were chosen and the boundaries of their districts were laid down. No doubt, as Mr. Oman says, the East Midland shires were grouped around the military centres of the wars of Edward the Elder. The boundaries of Worcestershire were certainly determined by ecclesiastical considerations,[2] and it is quite possible that the 1,200 hides of *Herefinna*, and the 2,000 hides of *Oht-gaga* (Ott-moor), of the ancient table of Tribal Hidage, determined to a very considerable extent the boundaries of Herefordshire and Oxfordshire with their 1,200 and 2,400 hides.

There is an admirable account of the way in which the lavish grants of land to the Church broke down the old tenure by folk-right under which land belonged to the Crown or to the family rather than to the individual who actually held it. A system was introduced by which such land was granted away permanently by charter or *book*; the grantor alienating not only his life-interest, which was all that he really had to give, but also the right of his successors in title as well. This was, of course, unjust to the family, and it was this sense of injustice which gave life to the very strong claim which was so often maintained for so long a time on land which had been given to the Church.[3] Of course also if land could be booked to a church, it could be booked to a single person, who could then dispose of it by sale or will as he pleased; and it is quite certain that this booking of folkland or family land to private persons went on apace to the enrichment of single persons, the impoverishment of their kindred and the detriment of the nation.

A point of some importance is the date of the marriage of Ethelflæd, daughter of King Alfred, to Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians. Asser tells us "*adveniente matrimonii tempore copulata est Merciorum comiti*"—"when the age of marriage was approaching she was united to the Ealdorman of the Mercians." He does not say "when the age of marriage had arrived," which would have been represented by "*cum*

[1] *The Origin of the Mercian Shires*, xxi, 41.
[2] *The Northern Boundary of Gloucestershire*, xxxii, 120
[3] For the typical case of Withington, see xxx, 19.

venisset" or some such form. The nubile age for women was then, as now, twelve years,[1] and Asser's words imply that before she reached that age she was betrothed to Ethelred. This conclusion is borne out by a Worcester charter (Cart. Sax., 547) which she signs as "*conjux.*" There are two copies of this charter in M.S. *Tiberius* A, and in each copy the date is given as 880, though in each case also the indiction would correspond to 887. As King Alfred was married in 868, his daughter can hardly have been more than eleven years of age in 880, an age which agrees with the statement of Asser. Mr. Oman speaks well of Offa, but it must not be forgotten that in his time, and through his agency, Cæsarism and Papalism attained to a power in England which they had never possessed before. It was no gain to the English Church that the Province of Canterbury was divided, or to the Northumbrian realm that the wretched Eardwulf was thrust back into the throne by foreign influence; it became needful for King Coenwulf to speak very plainly to Archbishop Wulfred with regard to the futility of papal and imperial interference,[2] and it seems quite possible that if it had not been for the invasions of the Northmen papal legatine power would have been settled in England three centuries before it was actually established here.

With regard to localities Mr. Oman, places the spot where St. Augustine met the British bishops at Aust, the scene of King Alfred's crowning fight at Edington in Wilts, and Buttington where Ealdorman Ethelred starved out the Danes in 893 at Buttington Tump in Tidenham. With regard to the note on page 487, the expression "*up be Saeferne*" tells no more in favour of the Montgomeryshire than of the Gloucestershire site. Hasting went "up by Thames," and would have passed through the Stroud valley into the Vale of Gloucester. Then if he wished to get anywhere west of Severn he must needs go up by the river, for he could not cross below Gloucester, and he must also go up well above Gloucester, for that was the seat of the government of Ethelred. It is curious that Mr. Oman adheres to Pontesbury in Salop as the scene of the fight in 661 in preference to Mr. W. H. Stevenson's suggestion of Postlebury, near Frome, by the ancient road over Mendip to Old Sarum. A defeat of the West Saxons at this point would enable the Mercians to pierce the Forest of Selwood, and to ravage all the county south of Wansdyke, with their own territory close at hand. *Biedanheaþe*, where there was fighting in 675, is probably Bedwyn, where at Chisbury Camp Wansdyke turns to the south-east to cover the road to Winchester. Very likely Wulfphere was trying to slip by this point when he was stopped and forced to fight. With regard to the statement in the note on page 392 that the fight of 825 is

[1] *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, ii, 1101.
[2] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii, 597.

only placed at Ellingdon-Wroughton because Allington has seemed too much in the heart of Wessex for some commentators, this is distinctly not the case. The tradition of Winchester Cathedral, which in such a case ought to have much weight, places the fight at Wroughton: "*Placet tempus in estate, locus apud Ellendone, manerium nunc prioris Wintoniensis.*"[1] Furthermore, the Domesday form of the name of the Wroughton site agrees much better with that of the Chronicle than does that of Allington. The form of the place-name in the Parker Chronicle is *Ellendune;* the Domesday entry relating to Wroughton runs thus. "*Elendune, Eps. Winton. pro victu monachorum,*" while Allington appears as *Adelingtone,* in the possession of Alured of Marlborough. The date of St. Aelfheah's martyrdom was not Palm Sunday, but the Saturday before the Octaves of Easter, which in 1012 fell on April 13th. The Abingdon Chronicle places the death of the saint correctly on *xiii Kal: Maii, i.e.* April 19th.

Mr. Oman gives an excellent account of the campaigns of September and October, 1066, but with regard to their final results he is not of the mind of Pope—

> "Spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
> One truth is clear, whatever is is right."

He evidently thinks that the people of the English would have prospered better if William and not Harold had fallen at Hastings. It is impossible to say in what way things would have been different if they had fallen out otherwise than they did, but it certainly seems that if the English were to prove an effective race they must become far other than what they were under the Confessor. The converting force came in the form of the Norman Conquest, and it is likely that any other force strong enough to be adequate must have produced at least an equal amount of change and suffering.

The volume concludes with three useful maps and an index for which Mr. Oman gives a word of well-deserved thanks to the compiler, in which all those who have to use the book will cordially join. The members of our Society may well congratulate themselves on the fact that the author of the book is our President, and also on the fact that he has placed the name of our Society on his title-page.

BRITISH PLACE-NAMES IN THEIR HISTORICAL SETTING. By EDMUND MCCLURE, M.A. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1910.

THIS book is, as its name implies, not so much a general treatise on place-names as a sketch of the history of what is now England from

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 205.

B.C. 54 to A.D. 1154, with a runnning commentary on the place-names which occur in the story. Of course, therefore, names which do not occur in the course of the narrative as the author reads it are passed by, and the book can by no means be adopted as taking the place of older works by Canon Isaac Taylor and others. There is always a pleasing uncertainty about a book on place-names, for though the pursuit is not of quite so go-as-you-please a character as it was at one time, the shots seem often to fall wide of the quarry even now. Almost any place can be reached by at least two roads; and if you are asked which is the way to the place, you must know from what direction the inquirer is moving. So it is with place-names. One inquirer will consider the place itself as it is in nature and its history, that is one path of inquiry; another searcher after the truth will sit in his study and look through his books till he finds something like the name, that is another method of research. And it will not infrequently happen that these two lines of inquiry will lead to widely differing results. For instance, Mr. McClure tells us that "Sloh-treo or Slachtre is a form which appears in a charter of 779 as Sloh-tranford, now Slaughterford," the interpretation given therefore being that of the "Ford of the Blackthorn." The charter is an original one, which conveys an estate called *Sulmonnesburg*, after the great camp now known as Salmonsbury, close to Bourton-on-the-Water. The estate was a large one, lying on the side of the Dickler and the Windrush after it joins that stream, and on both sides of the Windrush before the junction of the two streams. It must have included the two Slaughters, Bourton-on-the-Water and Clapton at least, and probably Harford, Aston Blank and Notgrove as well. The name "Slaughter" occurs no fewer than five times, besides the village names, in the old one-inch Ordnance Map. There is a Slaughter Hill Farm near Stow-on-the-Wold, east of the Dickler; Slaughter, a small house near it, and Slaughter Farm, to the west of the stream; Slaughter Coppice, between the two villages, and Slaughter Farm, near Bourton-on-the-Water. The repetition of the name is a very striking thing. Of course, the district may have been a veritable forest of blackthorns, but another derivation may be suggested, and that is that the word "Slaughter" is to be taken in its plain English sense of to-day. Salmonsbury Camp is one of the strongest in the county, dating back at least to Roman times, and guarding the Fosse, which runs within half-a-mile of it. Furthermore, Riknild Street, which starts from Aldborough on the Ure, runs south through middle England, and can be traced from Hinchwick Farm through Condicote, pointing straight through the Slaughters to Salmonsbury Camp; that is to say, this point is the one in which Riknild Street through middle England and the Fosse from the north-east met. It must have been

one of the most important strategical points in the country, for it would be the spot at which any king who had control of Northumbria and the North Midlands would gather his forces before marching further south. Almost of necessity there must have been sharp fighting at some time here, and it will be seen from the map that the "Slaughters" mentioned lie along a line at right angles to the course of the Riknild Street running from Condicote to Salmonsbury. This might well have been the scene of the battle in 626 between Edwine of Northumbria and Cwichelm of Wessex, whose realm extended at that time to the Forest of Arden. Edwin would have advanced along Riknild Street, possibly helped by Penda bringing forces along the Fosse, while Cwichelm would gather his forces at Cirencester and await the attack at Salmonsbury. In the result we are told that Edwin laid low five kings and slew a multitude of people, and so great a battle might well have driven the name of "Slaughter" into the soil. Certainly, with the boundary of the West Saxon realm as it then was, Salmonsbury would be the most likely point at which a West-Saxon king would await an attack by the the Northumbrians.

It will be well to consider the place-names in the neighbourhood of our district in the order in which they occur in the book. The most difficult of all our local names is probably Mendip: for this Mr. McClure suggests a Breton word *Men* (ore, crude metal), and certainly Mendip has been a mining district as far back as its connected history can be traced. For Winchester and the two other *Ventas* in Romanised Britain *Venta* (a market) is suggested as a derivation; but though this would suit towns such as those on the site of Winchester, Caerleon and Caistor, it would not suit a district such as Gwent, in South Monmouthshire. *Ischalis* is placed, no doubt correctly, on the south shore of the Bristol Channel. If the latitudes and longitudes assigned to it are referred to those of Bath, they point to a spot a few miles south of the mouth of the Axe by Brean Down. It is likely that Ischalis was the port at the west end of the very ancient road that led along the top of Mendip to Old Sarum; certainly it did not lie at Ilchester. There is a good deal about *Aust* in more than one place, and it seems that the derivation favoured is one from *Trajectus Augustæ;* but there is not the slightest evidence that the passage over the Severn at this point ever bore that name. Moreover, the oldest forms of the name, *Austin* and *Austan*, possess a final *n*. About 691 King Ethelred granted to Bishop Oftfor land at *Austin*, and in two Worcester documents of 794 and 929 the place-name is *Austan*, pointing to a derivation from *Augustinus* rather than *Augustus*, and supporting the theory which holds that St. Augustine met the British bishops at this point. The form *Austeen* found in a Glastonbury charter as belonging to a place on Mendip near Cheddar

may also, considering how very completely the Romans occupied the Mendip district, have had a Roman origin.

The remark of Mr. McClure that Lowland Scotch has some points of resemblance to the Frisian dialect received a curious illustration some years ago. A Norwegian engineer told the present writer that at one time he was desirous of fitting electric light to some steamers at Bergen. He therefore brought over some Scotch mechanics from Glasgow, and told them to talk broad Scots as broadly as they could to the Norwegian workmen, and with the exception of technical terms the men of the two nations got on very well together.

Mr. McClure identifies *Mons Badonicus* of King Arthur's battles with Bown Hill, near Stroud, a matter in which he is likely to have few followers. He also identifies *Bannaventa*, the home of St. Patrick's parents, with Glastonbury, a theory for which there is more to be said, as there seems to be some reason for bringing that point into the neighbourhood of the Bristol Channel; but when he proposes to put the West-Saxon *Woddesbeorgh* at Woodchester he is likely to stand quite alone. It is probably more likely that *Woddesbeorgh* stood at the point where Ridgeway crosses Wansdyke than at Wanborough, but it certainly stood somewhere on the edge of the Chalk Hills not far from those points. The derivation of the final syllable of *Jackment's* Bottom, near Cirencester, from the Celtic *mynedd* (a mountain) is interesting as adding another to the Celtic names on Cotswold, though it must be remarked that nothing like a mountain exists in the immediate neighbourhood. It is a great pity that the writer has adhered to the impossible locality of Pontesbury in Salop for the battlefield mentioned in the Chronicle for 661 :—" Here Cenwalh fought at Eastertide at *Posentesbyrg*, and Wulphere, the son of Penda, ravaged the country as far as Ashdown." Cenwalh was king of the West Saxons, Wulphere of the Mercians, and Ashdown lay on the ridge of chalk hills which stretches from Swindon eastwards. It is clear that Wulphere was victorious, but if he had ravaged the country from a point in Salop to Ashdown he would have been plundering his own Mercians all the way. It is likely that Mr. W. H. Stevenson's identification of *Posentesbyrg* with Postlebury, near Frome, in Somerset, is correct. Postlebury lies close to the ancient road which ran from Brean Down to Old Sarum, and on the western edge of Selwood. It is likely that Wulphere emerged from Bath, which was then Mercian, and after defeating Cenwalh at Postlebury ravaged the whole of North Wilts as far as Ashdown; the Wansdyke had been pierced, and after a defeat in the field the West Saxons were at his mercy. The death of St. Wilfrid is placed on one page at Hexham and on another at Oundle; the latter is, of course, correct. There can be little doubt that the derivation of Pucklechurch from

pucel (a goblin) is correct. If a spot were supposed to be haunted by an evil spirit it would be in no way strange that a church should be placed there. The Domesday form *pulcrecerce* is probably an attempt of a foreign scribe writing from dictation to give a suitable meaning, "beautiful church," to a form which he did not understand. *Onnanford* is Andoversford, above Cheltenham.

With regard to the Anglo-Saxon list of early territorial names on which the author touches, it may be noted that the 1,200 hides attributed to *Herefinna* may possibly be equated with the 1,200 or 1,500 hides which later lists attributed to Herefordshire; and if *Oht-gaga* with 2,000 hides be connected with Ott moor, then we are not far from the 2,400 hides interned in Oxfordshire in later days.[1] *Færpinga* among the Middle Angles has always been a puzzle; most likely it may be connected with *Fepsetnatune*, now Phepson, in Himbleton, Worcestershire, which was granted by King Edwy to the Church of Worcester in 956.[2] *Wigesta*, *Hicca* and *Arosætna* would also seem to be connected with the same district, but it does not seem to be possible to pick out the elements which made up the Huiccian realm.

No doubt the place of the battle of *Ellendune* in 823 is rightly fixed at Ellingdon-Wroughton, near Swindon, the point at which the annals of Winchester Cathedral place it; no doubt also the *Wintonia* of Asser's illness was Caerwent. Mr. McClure suggests *Benawille* (prayer well) as the derivation of Banwell, and this would support the idea that Wells, Cheddar and Banwell, which are the oldest Saxon churches in the district, each lying at the head of a strong spring, occupy the sites of heathen sacred spots hard by wells, which were objects of worship. In this case the place-name would go back to the time of heathen occupation. The site of *Ethandun*, the scene of King Alfred's victory over the Danes is placed at Edington in Wiltshire, and any attempt to place the site in Somerset is rightly set aside; for there is not the slightest reason for thinking that there ever was a place called *Ethandun* in Somerset. When, however, Mr. McClure places the scene of Ealdorman Ethelred's victory over the Danes in 894 at Buttington in Montgomery it is needful to join issue. The Danes evidently made a plundering raid across England, hoping to join their fleet in the western sea. They went up Thames and then up Severn, no doubt well above Gloucester, the seat of government of Ealdorman Ethelred, and then turned again to the sea till they were stopped by the Wye, and trapped and starved out in the Beachley Peninsula by Buttington Tump. Ethelred's forces were encamped on both sides of the Wye, so that the Danes could not escape by land either to the north or west, and as the king was stationed off the cost of Devon to prevent the

[1] *Domesday and Beyond*, 456. [2] Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names*.

arrival of the Danish fleet, no help could come from the sea. To place the scene of action in Montgomeryshire is to deprive the sentence concerning the king and the fleet of all meaning. Mr. McClure places the Lady Ethelflæd's fortress of *Scergeate* near Beenham in Berkshire, that of *Weardbyrig* at Warborough, in Oxfordshire, and that of *Cyricbyrig* at Churchill in the same shire; these identifications are clearly impossible, for the three places named were in King Edward's realm, and the lady and her brother did not trespass on each other's territory. Furthermore it is absurd to suppose that the lady, who was engaged in fortifying her north-western frontier, would have left that danger zone to plant fortresses where there was absolutely no need for them at all. The place of King Edward's death cannot have been at Faringdon in Berkshire, because the Worcester Chronicle distinctly places it at *Farndune* among the Mercians, probably Farndon-on-the-Fosse near Newark. For the place-name Bristol Mr. McClure suggests a derivation from St. Bride, but he neglects the evidence of the coins and of the earlier entries in the Chronicle. The area of an Anglo-Saxon penny is not large, and when we find on every single one of them that bears the place-name at all before 1066 a *c* as an essential element of the name, we may fairly take it that any theory of the origin of the name must account for the hard middle *c*. True, the letter was very soon Frenchified out. In the Chronicles the place-name occurs with *c* in 1052, 1063, 1067, 1087, 1126, and without it in 1140; it also occurs without the letter in Domesday Book, compiled by foreign scribes in 1087. But before 1066 the name always occurs as some form of *Brycstow* or Bridge-place, and that is the only derivation which will account for its oldest forms. On page 297 there occurs the not uncommon confusion between Westbury-on-Severn and Westbury-on-Trym; the slaughter mentioned in the text occurred at Westbury-on-Severn, the reference in the note is to Westbury-on-Trym. The fruit suggested as the origin of the place-name *Pershore* is the pear, but there is at least as much to be said for *Persoc*, the peach. There is a section on place-names found in Glastonbury charters; but though much that is said is interesting, the charters themselves are so late, and not infrequently so obviously corrupt, that historically the section cannot be considered to be of much value. The book is provided with an excellent index.

As has been said, writers on place-names may be divided into those who give little consideration to anything else than the forms of the name, and those who give due weight also to the history and circumstances of the place to which the name is applied. The present writer seems to belong rather to the former class. And though, of course, it is not fair to expect exact local knowledge of all England from a single writer, more care with regard to the examination of charters, and with regard

also to the position of localities suggested, would certainly have prevented some serious mistakes. But if the book is used in a spirit of considering scepticism it will be found to be a very interesting and helpful companion to the period of history over which it extends.

HISTORY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL, BRISTOL. By WALTER A. SAMPSON. Bristol: John Wright and Sons. 1910. 2s.

Two years ago Mr. Sampson gave us a history of the Red Maids' School, and now he has followed up his work with a history of the companion school for boys, known officially as Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, though to most Bristolians "The City School" would be a more familiar title. Good Queen Bess won her title with regard to the school rather cheaply, for all that she did was to give it a charter; the real founder was John Carr, a soap-boiler, of Bristol and London, who by his will, dated and proved in 1586 left property for the maintenance of an hospital for poor orphan boys after the model of Christ's Hospital in London. He very wisely ordered that the foundation should not commence until not only all debts and incumbrances had been paid off, but until the income from the unencumbered estate had accumulated for five years. Unfortunately, however, as it turned out, the Corporation were unwilling to wait so long, and for many years the charity led a maimed and poverty-stricken existence.

To begin with, there was the usual litigation on the part of the relations of the testator, and it was a long time before the estate was really free from incumbrance; but in the autumn of 1590 the school was opened with twelve boys in the old Mansion House of the Gaunt's Hospital, which house had been purchased from the Corporation for the use of the hospital by the Mayor, William Byrde, in the May of that year. By 1620 the number of boys had become doubled, and by 1700 it was increased to forty, near which number it remained till the school came under the control of the Charity Trustees. In 1704 a new school building was completed at a cost of about £2,500, of which amount £2,000 was raised by subscription. In view of this generosity, it is strange to find that in 1700 an arrangement was made with the master to clothe, maintain and educate the thirty-six boys for £330 a year, or supposing the school year to consist of forty weeks, for 4s. 7d. a week each. As board and lodging were reckoned to amount to 2s. 6d. weekly for each boy, a sum of about 2s. weekly remained for clothing, education and incidental expenses. The arrangement as it stands suggests the methods of Mr. Squeers; but possibly, though this is not

said, the labour of the boys was in some way utilised to eke out the cost of their maintenance.

In 1767 the prosperity of the Hospital received a severe blow by its removal to the premises belonging to the Grammar School in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in order that the young gentlemen who attended the last-mentioned seminary might be better lodged. It is curious that even as late as 1790 small beer was the beverage served at all meals: it is to be hoped that the boys knew as well as "Tom Brown" did how to improve its quality. In 1836 the Hospital came under the care of the Municipal Charity Trustees, when it appeared that though the net income of the charity for the year ending September 29th, 1836, was £3,412 4s. 6d., the sum expended on the school was only £948 11s. 9d. Clearly the time had come when the old Corporation should rest from its labours. The Charity Trustees determined without delay to increase the number of boys to 100; and since the buildings in which the school had been carried on for seventy years were insanitary and inconvenient, they erected the fine range of buildings on Brandon Hill, to which the boys were removed in 1847. During the thirty years which followed 1840 the school suffered from a severe epidemic of running away, which curiously enough seems to have been quite as pronounced after the removal to the new buildings as before. No doubt the temptation was strong in a boarding school situated in the city where the homes of most of the boys were to be found. Since the appointment of the present head master in 1879 the history of the school has been one of quiet growth in prosperity. It may be mentioned that in 1877 the time-honoured dress of the boys was altered to that in vogue in the middle of the nineteenth century, but the alteration was soon abandoned, and it is certain that a change in the dress of the children either of the Red Maids' School or Queen Elizabeth's Hospital would be very unpopular in the city. Mr. Sampson gives a picture of a boy in the ancient dress of the school, and his little book of about one hundred pages gives an excellent summary of the history of one of the great foundation schools of which all Bristolians should be proud.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE "POOR BOOK" of the Tithings of Westbury-on-Trym, Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton from 1656 to 1698, with Introduction and Notes by H. J. WILKINS, D.D., Vicar of Westbury-on-Trym. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1910. 10s.

THIS book contains twenty pages of introduction, and 284 pages of transcript of accounts: it is therefore rather a book for students of the history of the administration of the Poor Law than for general

reading; but the Vicar of Westbury-on-Trym has laid his parishioners, and the wide circle of those in our district who are interested in Poor Law matters, under deep obligation by the very great amount of care and trouble which he must have expended on the compilation of the book. The areas with which the book deals are very ancient ones: Westbury appears in a grant of King Offa as containing fifty-five cassates about 793, and Stoc, a portion of this area, appears as twelve hides in 883, the land boundaries of Stoc showing plainly that it contained the district now known as the tithings of Stoke Bishop and Shirehampton. Atkins gives the population in 1712 as about 650; the amount spent on poor relief in 1656 was £21 12s., and in 1697 £92 1s. 4d., the rate being at the earlier date three-halfpence, and at the later date eightpence in the pound. No reason is given for the great increase of the amount of the rate. Apart from the savage dealing with strangers which was made needful by the nature of the law of settlement, the treatment of the poor seems to have been humane. It was necessary to convey crippled aliens from one boundary of the parish to another, and so in 1657 we find an entry: "For carrying away a cart-load of cripples and relief, 2s. 6d.;" but the entries of payments for the benefit of parishioners seem to be kindly, as Dr. Wilkins shows plainly in his introduction to the book. They vary from a weekly allowance, generally 4s. at the beginning of the period, but rising to as much as 14s. towards the end, to clothing, medical attendance, burial expenses, boarding out of children or apprenticing. In 1696 William Steele personally conducted Prudence Parker to Bromyard in Herefordshire, presumably her place of settlement, at a cost of £3, and charged also 2s. a day for the four days occupied on the journey for himself. In 1683 John Cook distributed to the poor seven shillings received from those who absented themselves from church; it would be interesting to know the names of these absentees, probably they were Protestant Nonconformists. On April 21st, 1696, Captain Coockman or Lady Yeamans was nominated to serve as Overseer for Stoke Bishop, but neither of them did serve. It was, however, allowable to serve by deputy, as Nicholas Cox served for Sir Richard Crump in 1694, and John Clavell for Sir Thomas Cann in 1695. As has been said, this is rather a book for the few than for the many, but all those who care for the history of the great Parish of Westbury-on-Trym will find much to interest them, and the volume is a storehouse of information with regard to the method of administration of the Poor Law under the later Stuarts.

INDEX.

Abetot, Gaufrid de, 167
Abergavenny, Seizure of, 67
Aberystwyth Mint, 200
Abitot, Robert de, 47
  Urso, 47
Abson, 102
Adam of Newmarch, 69
Adams, 282, 287
  Robert, 290, 292
Addams, Thomas, 293
Adlestrop, 115
Æthelred the Redeless, 59
Agelwig, Abbot, 36
Aisi, *See* Eisey
Alcester, 72
Aldermiuster, 108
Alderson, William, 273
Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, 2
  Gift by, 42
Aldulf, Archbishop of York, 118
Aldworth, Ald., 271, 275
  Martha, 294
  Mr., 267
  Robert, 84, 294
Alexander III, Pope, 36
Alexander, Roger, 283
Allectus, Coins of, 61
Almshouses of Bristol, by WALTER A. SAMPSON, 82–106
Andeville, William de, 36
Andrinton, Patrick de, 167
Areconium, 311
Arlingham, 17, 19
Armorial bearings of :—
  Aderburgh, 238
  Aldworth, 275
  Arthur, 234
  Baldington, 258
  Berwicke, 239
  Boson, 223
  Brabant and Lovaine, 243, 244
  Browne, 325
  Cann, 327
  Clopton, 254
  Cocks, 244
  Corbet, 247
  Densell, 247
  Dingley, 40
  Downton, 230, 233
  Edward the Confessor, 268
  England, 267
  Evesham Abbey, 26
  Feilding, 231
  Fillegh, 247
  Fitzherbert, 223
  Fortescue, 247
  France, 267
  Glanville 238
  Goodere, 239
  Greene, 238
  Grenville, 247
  Hall, 238
  Hevyn, 230, 233
  Hickes, 226, 234
  Hopton, 230, 233
  Keyt, 250
Armorial Bearings (*continued*)—
  Lions, 238
  Lucy, 243, 244
  May, 226
  Mollins, 238
  Molyneux, 223
  Newton, 293
  Noel, 229. 231, 233, 234
  Northcote, 247
  Norton, 275
  Olney, 223
  Porter, 250
  Prattell, 239
  Purscell, 239
  Rainsford, 238, 239
  Richard II, 268
  St. Owen, 230, 233
  Salmon, 250
  Samon, 250
  Scocathe, 238
  Shersall, 239
  Smith, 223
  Spiney, 223
  Styveley, 250
  Taylor, 250
  Throckmorton, 223
  Tracey, 258
  Tyrell, 230, 233
  Wakested, 238
  Warbarton, 256
  Warburton, 256
  Were, 247
  Winston, 8
  Wylcott or Wylcotts, 238
  Not named, 300
Arthur, George, 270
Arundels. Family of, 15
Ashmead, G. C., 86
Ashton Church of, 54
Assandun, Battle of, 118
Aston Somerville, Effigy at, 219
Aston-sub-Edge, No effigy at, 221
Athelred, King, 122
Atherstone-on-Stour, 108
Audelye, John, 284
Augmentations, Court of, 19
Austin Canons, Gloucester, 16, 17
Awdeley, Lord, 282, 285
Aylburton, 17

Backwell, Henry, 297
Bagpathe, John, 267
Baker, John, 278, 279
  William, 52
Bakewell Cross, 306
Baldwing, Thomas, 55
Ball, George, 94
Balliol, Guy, 80
Bander, Elizabeth, 168
  John, 168
Bannebury, John, 267
Banwell, Robert, Vicar of, 204
Bard, Sir Henry, 228

Barnard, A.; Remarks on Leonard Stanley Priory, 19; notes on Insignia of Evesham, 31, 32
Barnard, E. A. B.; Paper on Municipal History of Evesham, 37–39
Barnburgh, Roger de, 263
Baron, Johan, 279
Barry, William, 299
Barstaple, John, 89
  Brasses of, 89
Barton Regis Churches, 205
Basset, Ralph, 64, 80
Bassett Family, 165
  Eleanor, 174
  Elizabeth, 169
  John, 168
  Richard, 174
  Thomas, 168
  William, 169, 170, 174
Bath Abbey, 25
Bath and Wells, Ralph, Bishop of, 263
Bath, Hidage of, 125
Bath, John, 295
Batsford, Estate, of, 119
Bayley, John, 14
Bazeley, Canon W., 1, 21, 23, 27, 28, 30, 34, 39, 43, 50; opinion of date of Standish Church, 5, 10; vote of thanks to, 29; proposes Professor Oman, 29
Beauchamps of Elmley, 36
  Emmeline, 47
Beauchamp, Sir John, of Elmley, 54, 80
  William, 47
Beck, F. G., 35
Beckford, Church of, 53
  History of, 54, 55
  Visit to, 53–55
Bedminster, 214, 215, 217
  Churches, 203
Bellocampo, Lord William de, 167
Belynghat, Thomas, 279
Benedictine system, Adoption of, 117
Benedictines, Disputes with Berkeleys, 16
  Monasteries granted to, 44
  Seizure of Evesham Abbey by, 36
Bengeworth, 36
Bengough, Henry, 105
Beornulf, King of Mercians, 2
Berkeley Castle, 9
  Encroachments on estate of, 116
  Minster, 114
  Prebend of, 17
  Vale of, 6
Berkeley, Alice de, 17
  Henry de, 18
  Ralph de, 16
  Roger de (3), 16, 17
Bernard the chaplain, 17
Berrow, Charles, 171
  John, 165, 170, 171, 174
  Thomas, 165, 169–71
Besford, Alexander, 255
  Joanna, 255
Beverston, 17
Biddle, Joseph, 41
Birch, W. de Gray, 210
Birken, Richard, 278
Birky, Richard, 279
Biseampton, Matthew, 166
  Robert, 160
Black Canons, 17
Black death, 37, 173
  Proceedings of Evesham Council at, 38
Blanchford, Elizabeth, 103
Blank arcading, Notes on, by G. T. Rivoira, 33
Blowing, 1–6, 271
Boche, Matthew, 278
Bohun, Humphrey de, 64, 80
Bosco, Thomas de, 265
Boswell, Eleanor, 239
  Robert, 239
Botiler, 42
Boucher, C. E., St. Peter's Church, Bristol, 260–300.
Bourton-on-the-Water, 115
Bowman, Mr., 210
Bradford-on-Avon, Church of, 33
Bradney, Mrs. Sarah Decima, 309
Brampton, John de, 262–64
Brasses, Barstaple, John, 89
Braunche, Thomas, 18
Brayn, Roger, 279
  Thomas, 279
Breach Yate, 102
Brecon, 68
Bredon, 47, 111
Bredone, Thomas de, 17
Brereton, Uriah, 48
Breton, John le, 12
Brickden, Edward, 101
Bricstow, Early mention of, 214, 260
Bristol—
  Almshouses of, by W. A. Sampson, 82–106
    Aldworth, 84
    All Saints, 88
    Baptists, 84
    Barstaple, 84–96
    Bengough, 105, 106
    Blanchard, 103
    Burton, 82, 86, 87, 88
    Chester, 82, 83
    Colston, 102
    Dial, 96
    Foster, 99
    Friends' Workhouse, 85
    Fry, 105
    Gift House, 82, 83
    Gnowsall, 88, 89
    Haberfield, 105
    Jacob's Wells, 105
    Jones, 86
    Merchant Tailors, 103
    Merchants' Hospital, 97
    Redcliffe Hill, 98
    Ridley, 104
    Roger Magdalen, 86
    St. Clements, 97
    St. James's Poorhouse, 83
    St. John, 100
    St. Nicholas, 101
    St. Peter, 84
    St. Philip's Poorhouse, 85
    St. Raphael, 105
    Spencer, 82
    Spicer, 86
    Steevens, 102
    Stevens, 82
    Stokes Croft, 104
    Strange, 100
    Temple, 101
    Temple Gate, 85
    Trinity Hospital, 89
    Tuckers, 84
    Weavers, 84, 85
    White, 101
  Archæoligical Notes for 1909, by J. E. Pritchard, 313–333
  Bishops of—
    Paul, 286
    William, 298
    Wright, 101
  Church Furniture and Decoration of the Renaissance Period, by A. Harvey, 140–164.

Bristol (*continued*)—
Churches of—
All Hallows, 216
All Saints, 164, 205, 208, 211, 215–17
Christ Church, 141, 145, 147–51, 153, 154, 160, 162, 164, 205, 208, 209, 211, 217
Holy Cross, 203, 213, 214, 218
Holy Trinity, 203, 205, 209, 216, 218
St. Aidan, 216
St. Aldhelm, 216
St. Augustine's Abbey, 208, 211, 213, 216, 217
St. Augustine, 155, 160, 163
St. Augustine-the-Less, 205, 208, 213, 215, 218
St. Brendan, 211
St. Dunstan, 216
St. Ewen, 205, 208–11, 214, 216, 217
St. Giles, 205, 208, 216, 218
St. James, Priory of, 205, 209, 210
St. James, 153, 162, 213, 218
St. James de Fria, 211
St. John, 148, 149, 158, 159, 164, 211
St. John de Bradforde, 205
St. John the Baptist, 203, 205, 215, 218
St. Katherine, 146, 147, 215
St. Lawrence, 205, 212, 216, 218
St. Leonard, 205, 208, 211, 216, 217, 218
St. Mark, 213, 218
St. Martin, 164, 216
St. Mary-le-Port, 141, 142, 148, 149, 154, 158–60, 164, 205–08, 211, 212, 214, 217, 271
St. Mary Redcliff, 141, 155–58, 161, 162, 164, 203, 204, 217
St. Michael, 160, 164, 205, 208, 211, 215, 218
St. Nicholas, 141, 145, 151, 154, 156–59, 161, 163, 164, 205, 211, 215, 217
St. Paul, 160, 164, 215
St. Peter, 141, 144, 147, 149, 151, 153, 161–64, 205–09, 211, 213, 214, 215, 217, 260, 300
St. Philip and St. Jacob, 147, 160, 164, 205, 208, 211–13, 218
St. Stephen, 141, 154, 164, 205, 208, 212, 213, 218
St. Thomas the Martyr, 141–43, 147–50, 153, 154, 157, 160, 163, 164, 203, 204, 218, 269, 272
St. Werburgh, 160, 164, 205, 208, 211, 212–17
Temple Church, 141, 145, 151, 153, 156, 158, 159, 162, 164, 203, 204
Churches, Metal work in, 155–63
Plaster work in, 163
Woodwork in, 149–155
List of objects and churches, 164
Bristol—
Jewish quarter of, 265
Mint, 195, 197–201
Parish Churches, Chronological Sequence of, by C. S. Taylor, 202–218
Britford Church, 305
Britton, Robert, 166
Broadway, 108
Broadwell, 115
Bromfield, 18
Bromwich, Edward, 15
Brown, William, 278
Browne, Hugh, 325
James, 284
Bruer, Bernard, 267
Brun, Henry le, 10
Bruton Priory, 204
Buckholt Wood, Frocester, 19
Buckland, 128
Bridgnorth, Seizure of, 65
Burghal hidage, 124
Burton, John, 87
Simon de, 87
Byrch, Thomas, 48

Cachemay, Matthew, 278
Cadman, 305, 306
Caerleon, Excavations at, 62
Caldicott, Rev. John W., 97
Cam, Rectory of, 17, 19
Campaign of Evesham, by Professor Oman, M.B.A., 64–81
Campden, First Viscount, Effigies and arms of, 225
Elizabeth, Viscountess, Effigies of, 225
Cann, Sir Robert, 327, 328
Canterbury, Archbishops of—
Robert Winchelsea, 2
Edmund, 55
Canterbury, St. Thomas of, 209, 214
Canynge, William, 82, 98
Carausius, Coins of, 61
Carbonel, Abbot of Gloucester, 2
Cardiff, Robert de, Charter of, 175
William de, Charter of, 175
Cardiff de—
Cæcilia, 166
Edward, 168
Joan, 167
Paulinus, 168
Robert de, 165, 175
Roger, 166
Simon, 166
Simon de, 166
William de, 165–68
Carew, George, 32
Carpenter, Bishop, 214
Carrill, John, 286
Cartwright, John, 53
William, 53
Catchmaye, Matthew, 285
Celfede Hundred, Places in, 127–32
Ceowulph, King of Mercians, 56
Cerasy, William de, 25
Chamberlain, Richard, 261
Chamberleyn, John, 262
Chantry chapels, 24, 25
Charles I. Half-Crowns, by C. W. Oman, M.B.
Charlett, Bourne, 48
Charlton, 40, 41
Charlton, Mary, 255
Sir Roger, 255
Chastleton, 108
Chatterton, 14
Cheftesihat Hundred, Places in, 127–32
Manor of, 129
Chester, Ranulf, Earl of, 211, 217
William, 82, 291
Chester Cathedral font, 308
Chesterton, William de, 169
Cheyney, Sir John, 54
Chidiockes, Family of, 15
Chipping Campden, 11, 22, 108
Effigies at, 221–37
Chollerton font, 310
Claines, 73
Clare, de, 65, 67
Clavering, Robert, 48
Clayton and Bell, 3
Cleeve Prior, Discovery at, 61
Clifford, John, 13; residence of, 14; effigies of, 14
Nathaniel, 15
Walter, 13, 14

Clifford Chambers, Effigies at, 237
Clifton Church, 205, 217
Clopton, John, 255
  Sir William, 255
Cloveshoe, Council of, 54, 123, 217
Clutterbuck, Richard, 13, 14
Clutterbucke, Josias, 295
Cnut, 2, 44, 118
Coaley, 17, 19
Cocks, Charles, Effigy of, 245
  Dorothy, 244
  Thomas, 244, 245
Codrington, Family of, 15
  Francis, 90
Codryngton, Ambrose, 278
Coenwulf, King of Mercians, 42
Cole, Rev. R. T., 210
Colethrop, 5
  Chapel, 8
  Church—
    Inscriptions on bells and notes, 7, 8
    Plate and monuments in, 8
  Legends on, 9
  Manor, 7
  Visit of Society to, 7–10
Colston, Edward, 98, 102, 103
Colville, Walter, 69
Compton, William, Effigy of, 46
  Governor of Elmley Castle, 48
Consul, Robert, 209
Cook, Sir Anthony, 3
Cook, Geoffrey le, 264
Copye, John, 283
Corbridge, Discovery at, 62, 193
Cormeilles, Abbey of, 54
Cornwall, Edmund, Earl of, suggested effigy, 241
Cotes, John, 263
Cotynton, Matthew, 278, 279
Court, W. and. C., cabinet makers, 148
Courteen, William, 44
Coventry, Thomas, Earl of, 49
Cowper, Julyan, 281
  Peres, 287
  Peter, 279, 282, 290
  Petur, 281
Crickhowell, 68
Cromwell, Thomas, 10
Cropthorne Church, Architectural notes on, 39, 40
  Patrons of, 49
  Visit of Society to, 39
Crosse, John, 18
Cruger, S., 15
Culham, Richard, 295
Curtis, Robert, 297
Cutsdean, 109, 114

Dance, John, 55
David, Dean of Bristol, 211, 261, 262
Davies, General, 48
Davis, Hart, 103
Davy, John, 278
  William, 278
Davys, John, 278
Daylesford, 108
Deerhurst Abbey, 114
  Font, 302
  Hundred, 114
Denbigh, William, Earl of, 231
Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, 54
Derby, Walter, 87, 266
Derhurst, Gaufrid de, 167
Despencer, 42, 44, 64
  ,, Death of, 80
Didbrook, Effigy at, 241
Dineley, Edward, 40
  Eleanor, 40
  Francis, Arms of, 40
Ditchford, 116
Ditton, John de, 263
Dodington, 17
Dole, Thomas, 282, 290
Dowdeswell, Rev. E. R.; Some Ancient Deeds, 165–174
Drost, Pictish King, 305
Dumbledon, Effigies at, 242
Durand, the Sheriff, 2, 10, 129
Durham Cathedral, Blank arcading in, 33
Dursley, Honour of, 17
  Rectory of, 17
Dursley, Robert, 18
Dutton, Sir Ralph, 3

Eadric Streona. *See* Edric the Sheriff
Easton Grey, 17
Ebley, 17
Ebrington, Effigies at, 246
Edgar, King, 44
Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, 55
Edney, William, 155, 156
Edric the Sheriff, 59, 116
  Administration by, 125
  Seizure of lands by, 119
Edward, Prince, Escape of, 64
  Recaptures Usk, 67
  Resists Montford's passage, 68, 69
  Pursues Montford, 72–74
Edward II, 9
Edward III, 18
Edward the Confessor, 2, 54, 55
Edward the Elder, 124
Edward, Sheriff of Wiltshire, 116
Eisey, Estate of, 119
Elbridge, John, 294
Eleanor, Queen, 14
Elfleda, 52
  Bequest of land by, 118
Ellicit, Robert, 296
Ellis, John, Clerk, 213
Elmley Castle, Historical notes on, 47–49
  Church, Notes on 47–49
    font in, 48, 49
Elmstone font, 307
English Bicknor Church, 311
Esterfield, John, 99, 277, 279, 280
Esterfeld, Maud, 277, 279
Ethelbald, King, 119
Ethelbert, St., 215
Ethelburg, 42
Ethelred, King, 42, 44, 118
Ethelwulf, King, 117
Eton College, Grant to, 54
Evenlode, 108
Evesham Abbey, 23
  Arms of, 26
  Church House, 23
  Churches on same site, 23
  Description of, 23, 25, 26
  Estate of, 115
  Reginald, Abbot, Gateway of, 23
  Revenue of, at Dissolution, 37
Evesham, Abbot of, 220
  All Saints' Church—
    Description of, 23, 24
    Remarks on, 34, 35
  Battle at, 75–81
  Booth Hall, 26
  Green Hill, 75
  Guildhall, 26
  Borough seal and inscription, 26
  Charters granted to, 26

Evesham (*continued*)—
Churches of—
All Saints, 23
St. Lawrence, 23
Constituted a borough, 26
Free Grammar School, 26
Portrait of Prince Henry, son of James I, 26
Visit of Society to, 22–56
Evesham, Campaign of, by Professor Oman, M.B.A., 64–81
Evesham, Insignia of, Notes on, by E. A. B. Barnard, 31, 32
Evesham, Municipal history of, by E. A. B. Barnard, 37–39
Evesham, Walter de, 9
Ezimbury. *See* Haresfield Beacon

Father, William, 279, 280
Fawset, Rev. Thomas, Effigy lost, 221
Ffawkener, John, 290
Field, Nicholas, 32
Fisher, Elizabeth, 297
James, 297
Fitzhamon, Mabel, 204
Robert, 204, 209–12
Fitz-Harding, Maurice, 17
Robert, 17
Thomas, 17
Fitzherbert, Elizabeth, 224, 225
Eustace, 224, 225
Arms of, 223
Fitz-John, John, 64, 80
Fitz-Osbern, William, 54
Fitz-Paynes, Family of, 15
Fitz-Ponz, Drogo, 13
Richard, 13
William, 13
Five-acre Grove, 17
Fladbury, Visit of Society to, 41, 42
Church, Descriptive notes on, 41, 42
Foldbriht, 44
Foliot, 44
Fonts, Gloucestershire, by Alfred C. Fryer, 301–312
Foot, John, 41
Forest Hundreds, Hidage of, 125
Forest of Dean, Discovery of, 61
Forse, H. A., 322
Fortescue, Sir Adrian, 53
Sir John, Effigy and arms of, 246
Forthampton, 109
Foster, John, 99, 100
Fotheringhay College, Grant to, 54
Fox, Francis, 84, 260
Frampton, Bishop, 4, 8
Frampton, Church of, Effigies in, 15
Manor Farm, 14, 15
Rosamund's Green, 13
Freman, Walter, 264
Freothomund, Abbot, 202, 217
Frome Church, 214
Frost, William, 266
Fry and Co., 88, 101
Fry, Robert, 297
William, 105
Fryer, A. C., Gloucestershire Fonts, 301-312

Gamage, John, 18
Gastwike, Edward, 286
Gerneuyle, Robert, 276
Giffard, Bishop, 214, 265
John, 66
Giraldus, Abbot of Tewkesbury, 209
Girard the Chamberlain, 114
Girnville, Richard, 276
Glamorgan, Rising in, 65
Glastonbury, Monastery of, 212, 213, 218
Gloucester, Robert, Earl of, 81, 204, 209–12, 217
William, 165, 211, 217
Gloucester, Abbots of—
Carbonel, 2
Serlo, 2
Thomas de Bredone, 17
Walter de Lacy, 17
William Parker, 3
Castle, Capture of, 67
Cathedral, 18
Foundation of, 44
Lombardic architecture in, 34
(*See also* St. Peter, Monastery of)
Hidage of, 125
Siege of, 65
St. Oswald's Priory, Foundation of, 118
St. Peter's Abbey, 2, 3, 6, 9, 17
Manor granted to, 52
Viscounts of—
Milo Fitz-Walter, 11
Walter Fitz-Roger, 11
Gloucestershire Fonts (Saxon and early,) by A. C. Fryer, 301–312
Gloucestershire hundreds, 59
Northern boundary of, List of places on in Domesday Book, 110, 111
Date of laying down, 117-19
Glynn, Sir Stephen; Description of Beckford Church, 53; description of Church of Hinton-on-the-Green, 6, 51; description of Great Washbourne Church, 52
Gnowsall, Stephen, 88
Godwin, Earl, Seizure of lands by, 17, 114
Goodere, Ann, 240
Dineley, 38, 41
Edward, 40
Sir Henry, 240
Samuel, 38, 41
Gotherington, Estate of. *See* Worcester
Gough, Thomas, 102
Gouiston, William, Bishop of Bristol, 298
Great Washbourne, Visit to 52, 53
Church of, 52, 53
Great Wolford, 108
Gregory, John, 283
Green, Thomas, 279
Grene, John, 18
Thomas, 278
Gretestanes Hundred, Places in, 127–32
Grey, Richard de, 69
Griffith, John, 279
Grove, Elizabeth, 15
Grove Hill, Discovery at, 62
Gunter, James, 165, 169–71
Gwent, 65

Haberfield, Sarah, 105
Hake, Betsy, 85
Haleway, John, 266
Simon, 266
Halford, Abbot William, 253
Hammeline, Abbot, 2
Hammond, John, 263
Hampton, 36
John de, 2
Hardwick, Church of, 4, 9
Haresfield—Beacon, 2
Manor, 7
Harewell, Thomas, 32
Harford, James, 322.
Harold, King, 54

Harrington, George, 297
Mabel, 236
Sir James, 236
Harris, John, 150, 153, 307
Hart, Edmund, Abbot of Pershore, Effigy of, 46
Harvey, Alfred; Lecture on Church Furniture and Decoration of the Renaissance Period in Bristol, 140
Harvey, Bailiff of Worcester, 166
Hawkesworth, William de, 262, 263
Hay, 68
Haydon Bridge Font, 310
Hayles Abbey, Effigy at, 241
Last Abbot of, 241
Haynes, James, 270
Heming, 122
Hemingford, 70, 74
Hendley, 55
Heneage, Sir Thomas, 170
Katherine, 171.
Hengham, Ralph de, 12
Henry II, Confirmation of grant by, 54
Henry VIII, 19
Henry, Prince, son of James I, Arms of, 26
Hereford, Earl of, 12
Diocese of, 116
St. Guthlac's, 18
Wolfheard, Bishop of, 54
Heye, John, 267
Hickes, Baptist Lord, 232
Effigies and arms of, 225
John, 228
Sir Michael, 229
Robert, 228
Hicks-Beach Family, 229
Hidcote, Boyse, 115
Hildesheim, Abbey church of, 33
Hiley, Peter, 297
Hill, Thomas W., 105
Hinton-on-the-Green, Effigies at, 252
Visit of Society to, 51
Hoards, Discoveries of, 61–62
Hogarth, Pictures by, 141
Holeford Hundred, Places in, 127–32
Holy Cross, Feast of, 166
Fraternity of, 3
Hondeacre, 40
Honeybourne, 108
Cow and Church, 115
Church, 118
Hook, Abraham, 104
Sir Humphrey, 15
Hope-Edwardes, Mrs., 309
Horncastel, Richard, 207
Hose, John, 264
Yseuda, 264
Houton, Ralph de, 262
Hugh, Earl, 2
Hunt, John, 266, 318
Huntly, F. A., 319
Hutchins, Edmond, 244
Hynetun, Manor of, 136

Icknields, 60
Icomb, 108, 114
Ilkyns, John, 279
Ilmington, 108
Isabella, Queen, 10
Ivri, Roger de, 129

Janyss, Elizabeth, 249
John, 249
Janys, Thomas, 281
Jardeyn, John, 279
Jarrett, Ralph, 279
Jerningham, 11
Joachim, Thomas, 282, 286, 291
Joachym, Cristofer, 286
Jones, Richard, 98
Jons, Joan, 278
John, 278
Jouys, David, 279
Jumieges, St. Valentine, Church of, 34
Jurdaye, John, 283
Juttour, John, 278

Kemerton, 114
Kempsey, 171
Kenilworth, Capture of Parliamentary Army, 71
Castle of, 69
Kermerdyn, William, 263
Keynsham Abbey, 217
Keyt, Frances, 258
Sir John, Effigy and arms of, 250
Margaret, Effigy of, 250
William of Ebrington, 258
Kiftsgate Hundred, 126–32
Date of Foundation, 129
Date of Consolidation, 130
Kingham, 117
Kingston, Sir William, 10
Grant to, 19
Lease by, 19
Kingswood, 116
Knapp, O. G.; Paper on Evesham Abbey, 35–37
Knights Templars, 204
Kyneburg, Abbess, 44
Kyngeswode, John of, 264
Alice, his wife, 264

Lacy, Walter de, 17
Lane, Thomas, 19
Lanercost, Chronicle of, 80, 81
Lanfranc of Pavia, 33
Langeberge, Profits of, 128
Langrewe, House of, 87
Lark Stoke, 115
Latimer, 97
Laud, Archbishop, 295
Lea font, 308
Leache, Robert de, 265
Lecton, 14
Lee, Sir Richard, 54
Leigh, Jane, 258
Sir Thomas, 258
Leigh Church, 203, 204, 217
Leland, 86
Leofsige, Bishop of Worcester, 119
Leominster, Capture of, 68
Leonard Stanley Priory, Confirmation of lands to, 18
Income at Dissolution, 19
List of priors, 18
Manor farm, 20
Leonard Stanley, 16
Foundation of Priory Church, Notes on, by J. H. Middleton, F.S.A., 16–20
Visit to, 18–21
Lemington, Lower, 108
Lewes, Campaign of, 50
Lewis, Edward, 319
Lichfield, Abbot, 23, 26
Lichfield, Chantry chapels of, 24, 25
Lichfield, Clement, 24, 25, 37
Little Compton, 108
Little Washborn, 109, 114
Llewellyn, 65
Bribed, 66
Lloyd, Bishop, 41, 42
Thomas, 296

Lombardic cubico-spherical architecture, Notes on, by G. T. Rivoira, 33
Lond, Master Robert, 213, 274, 275
London mint, 195
Longborough, Extent of, 131
Longdon font, 302, 303
Longford, John, 278
Loringe, Manor of, 17
Lower Lemington, 108
Lumberd, William, 277
Lye, Thomas, 267
Lyndesey, John, 279

Maitland, Professor, 124
Manchee, 86, 100
Mandeville, William de, 80
Manduit, Robert, 14
Mangodesfeld, Richard de, 265
Mangotsfield Church, 205, 211, 215, 218, 262
Mar, William de la, 167
Mareys, Philip, 263, 264
Margot, 70
Marinus, of Winchcombe, 130
Mariscis, Joseph de, 130
Marleburgh, Richard, 66
Marshall, John, 236
Martin, John, 56
  Sir Richard, 56
Mathew the Cook, 130
Matilda, daughter of Earl Robert, 211
Matson, 44
Matthews, John, 91
Maugersbury, 115
May, Elizabeth, 228
  Sir Humphrey, 228
Mears, Thomas, 11
Mene, 128
Merchant Venturers, Society of, 98
Mercians, Kings of—
  Beornulf, 2
  Ceowulph, 56
  Coenwulf, 42
  Offa, 40
Mercian shires, Arrangement of, 119–122
Mercians, Lady of, 118, 124
Merrick, 273
Merstow Green, 26
Mertoun, William, 278
Middleton, J. H.; Article on Priory of Leonard Stanley, 16; architectural description of, 20
Miles, Rev. Canon, 105
Millerd, Jacobus, 330
Minsterworth, John, 18
Mints, 192–201
Mitchell, John, 142, 270, 271
Monmouth Castle, Capture of, 60
Montchensey, William de, 69, 71
Montfort, Guy de, 80
  Henry de, 64, 77
  Peter de, 80
  Simon de—
    Address on, by Professor Oman, 50
    Campaign of Evesham, 64
    Death, 80
    Miracles at tomb, 36
    Remains, 25
  Simon (the younger), 67, 69
Monumental Effigies, by Ida M. Roper, 219–259
Monyngton, William, 18
Morden, Thomas, 42
Moreton-in-the-Marsh, 108
Moreton Valance, 11–13
  Church, Architectural notes on, 11–12
    Inscription in, 12
    Tympanum, 11
  Derivation of name, 10
  History of Manor, 10
  Visit of Society to, 10–13
Morison, Sir Charles, 227–29
  Maria, 227–29
Mortimer, Roger, 42, 64, 74
Morton, Hugh, 18 *a*
Muleward, John, 129, 266
Musard family, 220
Myldamaye, Sir Walter, 170

Nanfan, Sir R., 48
Netherton, Chapel at, 41
  Visit of Society to, 49
Neville, John, Lord Latimer, 244
  Hugh, 69
Newport, Seizure of, 67
Newton, Abbot, 46
  Antholin, 294
  Sir Henry, 293
  Sir John, 293
  John, 294
Niblett, J. D. T., 6–8
Nicholas, 76
Noel, Sir Andrew, 236
  Lady Anne, Effigy and arms of, 231
  Baptist, 232
  Edward, Lord, Effigy and arms of, 232
  Edward, Lord, 227, 228, 231, 232
  Juliana, Lady, 227, 229, 231, 232
    Effigy of, 232
  Hon. Penelope, Effigy and arms of, 229
Northern Boundary of Gloucester, by the Rev. C. S. Taylor, 107–39
  Schedule *re* History of Shire, 133–39
Northland, Richard de, 18
Northleach, Manor of, 2
Norton, Andree, 279
  Andrew, 278
  George, 279
  Peter, 260
  Richard, 279
  Thomas, 267, 274, 279, 280
  Walter, 274
Nympsfield, 17

Oddington, Manor of, 2
Odell, Alice, 251
  Nicholas, 251
Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 36
  Of Dumbleton, 130
Offa, King of Mercians, 40
  Gift by, 119
Oftfor, Bishop of Worcester, 42
Olney, Arms of, 223
Olyver, John, 267
  Simon, 267
Oman, Professor; Address on Simon de Montfort, 50; Presidential Address at Evesham, 57–63; Campaign at Evesham, 64–81; Hoard of Half-Crowns of Charles I, 193–201.
Osric, 44
Oswald, 960 *circa*, 25, 118
  690 *circa*, 44
Oswestry, Hoard at, 194
Overbury, Visit to, 55, 56
  Church, Historical and Descriptive Notes on, 55
Owen, George, 99
  Richard ap, 289
Owlpen, 17

Oxford, Hidage of, 125
Mint, 195, 196, 198–200
Ozleworth, 17, 19

Pagham, John de, Bishop of Worcester, 209
Pakington, Sir John, Bart., 258
Parker, William, Abbot, 3, 18
Partriche, Robert, 19
Pate, Richard, 286
Patey, Thomas, 147
Thomas, Jun., 145, 147
Paul, Abbot of St. Alban's, 34
Bishop of Bristol, 286
Peach, Samuel, 15
Pearsford, 255
Peartree, S. M., 310
Peasants' Revolt, 173
Pecke, Thomas, 267
Pendoc, 56
Percy, Sir Charles, Effigy and arms of, 242
Sir Charles, 245
Dorothy, 245
Dorothy, Effigy of, 242
Perrott, George, 42
Pershore Abbey, Descriptive notes on, 44, 46, 47
Minster, Hides of, 121
Monuments in, 45, 46
St. Andrew's, 46
Church of the Holy Cross, 45, 46
Pump at, 43
Visit of Society to, 44–47
Peter, Prior of Leonard Stanley, 18
Pevensey, Castle of , 64
Siege of, 67
Peyton, Sir Thomas, Effigy of, 11
Philip the Priest, 209, 217
Phillippe, William, 278
Pil, Benjamin, 297
Pinney, Charles, 323
Pistor, Robert, 166
Plantagenet, Arthur, 10
Pleas of the Crown, Record of, 130
Plewne, William, 42
Pleydall, Parson, 298
Plumley, John, 86
Pole, Richard, 281
Pont, Nicholas, 166
Pontlarch, Robert de, 10
Popham, John, 93
Powke, John, 277
Poyntz, William, 266, 273, 274
Poywyk, William de, 167
Prewett, William, 98
Pritchard, J. E., Bristol Archæological Notes for 1909, 313–333
Pritchard, Robert, 295
Provence, Sanchia of, 242
Purdue, 55
Putot, William de, Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 211, 261
Pyll, John, 282, 283, 287
Pyperton, Treaty of, 66
Pytte, Richard, 289

Quatremayne, Thomas, Brass of, 11
Queenhill, Manor of, 165–68
Quinton, Effigy at, 254

Radnor, Simon of, 261, 264
Rainsford, Ann, Effigy of, 237
Sir Henry, Effigy and arms of, 237
Hercules, 239
Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 263
Randwick, Church of, 4, 5, 9
Ranulf, Earl of Chester, 211, 217
Record, Robert, 290
Redland Chapel, 147
Reformation, The, 22
Reginald, Abbot, Gateway of, 23
Notes on, by G. T. Rivoira, 32–34
Remigius, Bishop, 16
Rendal, 289
Reynolds, Richard, 92
Rickman, 6
Ridley, Sarah, 104
Ripun, Stephen de, 261
Rishanger, 73
Riole, Roger de, 80
Rivoira, G. T.; Notes on Abbot Reginald's Gateway, 33; notes on blank arcading, 33; notes on Lombardic-sph. architecture, 33–34
Robert, an almsman, 87
Robert, Vicar of Banwell, 204
Robertes, William, 278
Roberts, Rev. G. B., 307
Rodley, John, 18
Roman curia, 2
Roper, Ida M., Monumental Effigies 219–259.
Ros, Robert de, 65
Rosamund, 14
Rotlesc, 54, 55
Rowsell, John, 295
Rudhall, Abraham, 11, 44, 55, 297
Ruthwell Cross, 305, 306
Ruydale, Richard, 168
Rous, Thomas, 54
Russell, John, Lease to, 44

St. Albans, Hoard at, 193
St. Barbara, Abbey of, 54
St. Benedict, Order of, 212
St. Denis of Paris, 114
St. Dyonysius, Feast of, 167
St. Eadburg, 45
St. Ecgwine, 24, 25
Pilgrimage to Rome, 26
Story of the fetterlock, 35
St. Ewen, Chantry of, 103
St. Isidore, 43
St. John Lee, font, 310
St. Leonard, Dedication to, 16
St. Martin, Abbey of, 54
St. Oswald, Archbishop, 25, 118
St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 296
St. Peter, Monastery of, 2
Gloucester, 9
Dissolution of, 3
Increase of monks in, 19
Sister foundation to, 44
St. Victor, Canons of, 218
St. Vigeans, Stone at, 303
Saintbury, Effigies at, 255
Salisbury Cathedral, 25, 203
Sampson, Walter A.; Paper on Almshouses of Bristol, 82–106
Sandford, 20
Sandys, Jocosa, 40
William, 42
Saul, Church of, 4, 9
Savage, Christopher, 48
Sir John, 48, 49
Thomas, 48
William, 291
Scarth, Canon, 311
Scotlandus, Abbot, 34
Scott, Gilbert, 45

Sedgeberrow, 109
Selfe, Cecil, 102
Selwyn, Richard, 19
Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, 2, 34
Seymor, Elizabeth, 91
Sharington, Sir William, 287
Shenington, 109, 265
Sherborne, Lord, 3, 4, 7
Shierman, Alderman, 94
Shipston-on-Stour, 108, 114
Short, Thomas, 260, 276
Shrewsbury mint, 196, 198–201
Simmons, John, 14
Simon, Bishop of Worcester, 17, 207, 209, 210, 260, 261
Slimbridge, 6, 17
Smith, Standfast, 162
Smith, Thomas, Effigy and arms of, 221
Smithsend, Eleanor, 169
  Elizabeth, 165
  John, 174
  Nicholas, 165, 170, 174
  Richard, 170
  William, 169, 174
  William, Manumission of, 175, 176
Snowsale. *See* Gnowsall
Soleaco, Henry de, Bishop of Worcester, 211
Somerset, Edward, Duke of, 3
Somerton, William, 267
Somerville, Sir John de, Effigy of, 219
  Sir William de, 220, 221
  Soper, 289
  Henry, 279
South Hayhing font, 306
Sowle, John, 279
Spencer, William, 82
Spenser, William, 277
Spereing, Abraham, 85
Spicer, John, 86
  William, 278
Stamford, 124
Standish, Church of, 5, 9
  Daughter churches of Grange, Accounts of, 6, 7
  Manor of, 2, 3
  Paper on church and neighbourhood of, by Canon Nash, 4
  St. George, Church of, 3
    Almery of, 2, 4
    Architectural notes on, 3, 4, 6
    Historical notes on, 2, 3
    Ordination of Vicarage of, 9
  St. Nicholas, Church of, 5
  Visit of Society to, 1–7
Stanlege, Manor of, 16
Stanley, Curate of, Grants to, 19
  Derivation of name, 16
Stapleton Church, 205, 211, 218
Starkey, 53
Staunton, Adam de, 9
Staunton font, 310
Steevens, Thomas, 102
Stephen, King, 17
Stephen of Thornbury, 211, 261
Stephens, Thomas, 275
Stevenys, Thomas, 274
Stinchcombe, 17, 19
Stogursey (Stoke Courcy), Priory of, 263
Stone, Nicholas, 236n
  Diary of, 228
Stowe, William de, 23
Stradlinge, John, 19
Strange, Robert, 100, 101
Stratford-on-Avon, 72
Stretton-on-the-Fosse, 108
Strickland, Miss, 303
Sudeley, Hundred of, 127
Sutton, William de, 264
Sutton-under-Brailes, 109
Swayne, Joseph, 52
Sweeper, William, 297

Taillour, Reginald, 266
Talbot, Richard, 10
Talrith, Canon of Berkeley, 17, 18
Tankervilles, Grant to, 54
Tanner, Edward, 266
Taylor, Rev. C. S., 269; Northern Boundary of Gloucestershire, 107–39; Bristol Parish Churches, 202–218
  William, 251
Teddington, 109
Temple Fee, 207
Teste, William, 15
Tewkesbury, Monastery of, 207, 209–12, 217, 218, 260
Theobald, Archbishop, 210
Thomas, Archbishop, 2, 122
Thoresby, Richard de, 263
Thornbury, Stephen of, 211, 261
Throckmorton, Eleanor, 42
  George, 224, 225
  John, 41
  Katherine, 224, 225
  Thomas, 42, 44
Thurston the Priest, 209, 210, 217
Tidmington, 108, 114
Tiler, John, 283
Tilhere, Bishop of Worcester, 42
Toddington, Effigy at, 257
Todenham, 108, 118
Torksey, 124
Tournai Bowls, 308
Towson, John, 19
Tracy, Thomas Charles, 5th Viscount, A.D. 1756, Effigy and arms of, 257
Tredington, 108, 114
Tregooze, Robert de, 80
Tretire, Roman altar at, 34
Tucker's Hall, 84
Turstin, a priest, 203, 217
Twining, 109
Tyringham, Thomas de, 18

Uley, 17, 19
Underhill, Robert, 168
  Juetta, 168
Upper Swell, 115
Urso, Sheriff of Worcestershire, 36, 47
Usk, Seizure of, 67

Venables, James, 99
Vener, Richard, 266
Venour, Richard, 267
Veysey, Thomas, 266
Villiers, Sir George, 232
  Susan, 232

Wage, *als* Spicer, William, 277
Wake, Baldwin, 69
Wakeman, Edward, 54
Walker, Roger, 290
Walsh, W., 48
Walton, Robert, 331
Walton, Cardiff, Some Ancient Deeds, by E. R. Dowdeswell, 165–174.
  Manor of, 166–69
  Turle Meadow, 169
  Lechymere Meadow, 174
Warbarton, Rev. William, 255, 257

Warley, Robert, 279
Warren, Mathew, 296
Warwick, Richard, Nevil, Earl of 47
  Anne, 48
  Isabella, 48
Warwickshire, Diocese of, 116
Waterman, Hugh, 270, 297
Wauberg, Gregory of, 265
Weavers' Hall, 84
Werburgh, St., 214
Were, F.; Notes on Heraldry, 8, 9; remarks on Coins of Alfred, 30
Westbury, Dean of, 265
Westbury-on-Trym, Church of, 202, 214, 217
Westminster, St. Peter of, 114
Weston-on-Avon, 108
Weston-sub-Edge, 131
  Effigies at, 259
Weymouth Mint, 197, 198, 200, 201
Whaddon, Church of, 12
Wheataker, Henry, 295
Whit, John, 282, 283, 285
Whitchurch, 108
Whitcombe, Ford, 34
White, Thomas, 87, 101
Whitewell, Thomas de, 264
Wiccii, Kingdom of, 22
Wick, 102
Wideles Hundred, Places in, 127–32
Widenesci Tovi, 55
Widford, 108, 118
Wigmore, Lord of. *See* Mortimer
Wikes, Nicholas, 19
Wilberforce, Samuel, 45, 302
William, Bishop of St. Carileph, 33
William of Clifton, 217
William of Volpiano, 33
Williams, John, 281, 283–86
Willoughby, Lord, 170
Wilson, John, 103
Winchcombe, 123, 124
  Hundred, Places in, 132
  Payments of Borough, 128, 129
Winchelsea, Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 2
Wing, Church of, 33
Winston, Thomas, 9
Winstone, Sir Henry, 3
Winter, Catherine, 225
  Robert, 225
Wode, William, 91
Wodhouse, Nicholas, 282
Wolnyge, Richard, 18
Wood, Anthony à, 53
Woodhouse, Nicholas, 287
Woolmer Forest, Discovery in, 61
Worcester, Bishops of—
  Aldred, 2
  Aldulf, 118
  Deneberht, 54
  Henry, 211, 218, 261
  John, 209
  Leofsige, 119
  Offfor, 42
  St. Oswald, 118
  Simon, 17, 207, 209, 210, 260, 261
  Tilhere, 42
Diocese of, Extent of, 22, 116
Division of shire, 121
Estates of, 114, 115
Hidage of, 125
Mint, 197, 199–201
Seizure of, 65
St. Mary, 114
Workman, Richard, 297
Worlington, Hoard at, 194
Worth, Sir Edward, 52
Writing, Examples of accounts, 92
Wudhouse, Nicholas, 279
Wulfheard, Bishop of Hereford, 54
Wulfstan, Archbishop, 118, 122
Wulfstan, St. 214
Wyrcestre, William, 212, 213, 269
Wykkye, Thomas, Tomb of, 52
Wyncote, Elizabeth, 167
  Joan, 167
  Sir John de, 167
  Juetta, 167
  Margaret, 167
Wyre Church, 43
  Chantry in, 44
  Descriptive notes on, 43
  Relics in, 44
Village cross, 43
Visit of Society to, 42
Wyrral, John, 46

Yate, Henry, 296
  Robert, 15
Yatman, Thomas, 279
Yeamans, William, 297
York, Archbishops of—
  Aldred, 9
  Aldulf, 118
  St. Oswald, 118
  Thomas, 9, 122
  Wulfstan, 118
St. Mary's, Abbey of, 36
Mint, 198, 199

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